00110803

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 19 September, 2016

# GOD IN HISTORY.

VOL. III.

# GOD IN HISTORY

OR

# THE PROGRESS OF MAN'S FAITH IN THE MORAL ORDER OF THE WORLD.

BY

C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.Ph. D.C.L. & D.D.

110803
ae

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

SUSANNA WINKWORTH,

AUTHOR OF 'NIEBUHR'S LIFE,' 'TAULER'S LIFE,' ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III

B.C. 20

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1870.

God
'231
Bun / God
110803

# CONTENTS

OF

# THE THIRD VOLUME.

## BOOK V.

## THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN ARYANS.

### CHAPTER I.

PAGE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION. SURVEY AND PLAN OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH BOOKS . . . . . 1

### CHAPTER II.

CHRIST; OR, THE CONSCIOUSNESS EXPRESSED BY JESUS RESPECTING THE DIVINE AGENCY IN HISTORY.

Characteristics of Christ's own teaching—1. The Eternal, Jesus, Humanity—2. The Eternal Life of Earthly Man—3. The True Religion—4. The Kingdom of God upon Earth—5. Sin and Evil—6. The Unity of the Kingdom of God upon Earth—7. The Relation of Christ's Religion to that of the Jews—8. Christ's Attitude towards the Religious Consciousness of the Gentiles—9. The Church is the Vessel of God among Mankind—10. The Liberty and Judicial Function of the Ecclesia—11. The Personal Nature of all True Faith—12. The Perfect Accomplishment of the Kingdom of God—Clear Teaching of Christ respecting His own nature—Absence of Precepts respecting Forms . . . . . 7

## CHAPTER III.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN HISTORY POSSESSED BY CHRIST'S APOSTLES AND BY THE EARLIEST SEMITIC CHURCHES.

PAGE

Founding of the Church by the Apostles through the power of the Holy Ghost—Peter and the organization of *the Church*—Paul and the development of the Christian *Faith*—John the Apostle of *Love*, with his Revelation of the Future Destinies of the Church—Close of the first or Semitic age of the Church 42

## CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH OF THE ARYANS DURING THE EPOCH OF PERSECUTION.

Position of the Church in the Roman Empire—Organization of the Church—No hereditary Rulers—The Power of the Keys—Bishops constitutional not despotic Monarchs—Rite of Baptism—Form of Public Worship—The Holy Communion—The Sacred or Ecclesiastical Year—The Series of Scripture Lessons based thereon . . . . . 50

## CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PROPHETS OF THE PERSECUTED CHURCH.

1. Ignatius: His Epistle to the Ephesians—2. Basilides and Valentinus—3. The Epistle to Diognetus probably written by Marcion—4. The "Shepherd" of Hermas—5. Clemens of Alexandria, and his Master, Pantænus—Alexandrine Exegesis . . . . . 68

## CHAPTER VI.

RECAPITULATION AND ANTICIPATION.

New Life in a moribund world—Sense of approaching judgment on the world—Belief in the dissolution of all earthly things—Advent of Constantine—The Three Factors of Man's Religious Consciousness: God the Eternal, God in Christ, the Spirit in the Church—Dangers to Faith . . . . 100

## CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH REGNANT AND HIERARCHICAL, AS EXHIBITED IN HER CONSTITUTION.

PAGE

Rise of an Aristocratic Constitution—The Œcumenical Councils —The Church's constitution gradually changed into a Patriarchate—Division of the Eastern and Western Churches—Rise of the Papacy—Suppression of the Lay Element—Results of Hierarchy . . . . . 114

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD EVINCED IN HER WORSHIP.

Relation of Cultus to Dogma—The Presence of God in the Church —Consequences of the withdrawal of the Bible—Growth of a prescribed Liturgy—The ordinances of Basil and Chrysostom—Effect of the Christology of the Councils—Rise of Saint-worship—It is no longer the *Communion*, but the *Consecration* that is the essence of the Rite—Controversy respecting the seat of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper—Controversy between Paschasius and Rabanus—Ratramnus and Erigena—Doctrine of the Ninth Century—Controversy between Berengarius and Lanfranc in the Eleventh Century—Peter Lombard and Innocent III.—The Host declared a Sacrifice—The Council of Trent 1563 A.D.—Indulgences —Worship of the Virgin—Promulgation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception—Social Influences of the Church . 123

## CHAPTER IX.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN HISTORY POSSESSED BY THE PROPHETS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HIERARCHY UP TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

Augustine and Salvianus—Desponding theory of the world prevailing during the decline of the Roman Empire—St. Benedict—Erigena—The Dark Ages—Devil-Worship—Gregory VII.—Innocent III.—Joachim of Floris—Abelard—Dante—Petrarch—Savonarola . . . . . 164

## CHAPTER X.

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PERSECUTED WALDENSIAN CHURCH CONCERNING GOD'S PRESENCE IN THE WORLD.

PAGE

Peter Waldo—Doctrines of "The Noble Sermon"—The Waldensian Confession of Faith . . . . . 183

## CHAPTER XI.

THE PROPHETS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HIERARCHY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

Bossuet—Le Maistre—Lamennais—Wessenberg . . . . 189

## CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN ARYANS AND THEIR PROPHETS OF GOD'S PRESENCE IN HISTORY SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

Five Theses containing the fundamental principles of the Reformation—The Translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue—Momentous results of giving the Bible to the Laity—Rise of Hymnody—Improvement of Sacred Music—Importance of the Sermon—Learning sanctified—The constitution of the Reformed Churches—Social Reforms—Civil and Religious Liberty—Rise of Constitutional Monarchy—Dawn of Federalism—Art since the Reformation—Music—Modern German painters—Modern epical and lyrical Poetry—The Modern Drama—Modern Historical Literature—Church History—Rise of Philosophic History . . . . . 199

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROPHETS OF THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Luther—Calvin—Terrible effects of the Thirty Years' War—Jacob Böhme—Gottfried Arnold, Oetinger and Bengel—Decline of Theology—Schleiermacher—Channing—Leibnitz—Vico—Montesquieu—Winckelmann—The Schlegels—The Humboldts—Kant—Fichte—Hegel and Schelling . . 239

# BOOK VI.

## RESULTS OF THE FOREGOING ENQUIRIES, WITH THE PRACTICAL LESSONS WHICH THEY SUGGEST.

## CHAPTER I.

PAGE

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE RESULT OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH BOOKS . . . . . 282

## CHAPTER II.

### THE WORLD—HISTORICAL RESULT.

Language the chief means of development—Its growth traced through the five chief families of mankind—The development exhibits an objective progress . . . . . 294

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CONCLUSIONS PRESENTED IN THE FIELD OF THE SCIENTIFIC OR POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The Religious Consciousness the efficient cause of Civilisation—The reality of Human Progress—Progress consists in the advance from Necessity to Freedom—Progress in a particular Race leads to empire—Ethnological amalgamation apparently designed by Providence—Contrast and analogy subsisting between morbid and healthy developments . . . 304

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RELIGIOUS RESULT.

Revelation an impartation of the knowledge of God—The Symbol valueless in itself—The place of the Individual in True Religion—The Bible the sole authoritative Standard of Christianity—The Christianity of the Bible not founded on Legends—The Church demands the Commonwealth—A Hierarchy necessarily antagonistic to the State—The signs of impending ruin in Church and State . . . . . 317

## CHAPTER V.

THE RESULTS AS THEY BEAR UPON POLITY AND CIVILISATION.

PAGE

The Crises of the Religious Consciousness are also Political Crises—The Nature of True Civilisation . . . . . 330

## CHAPTER VI.

THE PRACTICAL INFERENCES.

The signs of the inward and outward crisis of the present—A Positive Philosophy of Mind possible—The practical inference bearing on Education—Harmonious development its aim—Language and History its most efficient instruments—Importance of familiarity with the Scriptures—Practical ability and head knowledge—Necessity of Athletic Exercises—Need of Ecclesiastical Reform—Conditions of a true Christian Church—Essential Elements in Public Worship—Political Inferences—Necessity of an inward moral renewal—Signs of an impending political Crisis—Dangers of Socialism and their remedy—The impending Crisis a Day of Judgment—The Victory of Good upon this earth, the final Goal of all History . . . . . 336

## APPENDIX.

### NOTE A (p. 139).

THE AUTHENTIC WORDS OF JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA RESPECTING THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD IN THE SACRAMENT 361

### NOTE B (p. 143).

BERENGARIUS AND LESSING . . . . . 362

### NOTE C (p. 159).

THE TRINITY AND THE HOLY VIRGIN: FOUR ROMISH PRAYERS OF THE YEAR 1822 . . . . . 362

## NOTE D (p. 168).

PAGE

THE ELEGY ON ROME WRITTEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY A PRODUCTION OF ERIGENA . . . . . 364

## NOTE E (p. 179).

THE THREE SONNETS OF PETRARCH . . . . . 365

# GOD IN HISTORY.

## BOOK V.

### THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN ARYANS.

### CHAPTER I.

#### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

#### SURVEY AND PLAN OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH BOOKS.

If we take a rapid survey of those leading features in the development of religious consciousness among the Christian Aryans, which are universally recognized, and then combine with this a retrospective glance at the facts brought forward in our former volumes, one remarkable contrast will immediately challenge our notice. In the leading phenomena of this class, which the history of our world has as yet exhibited to our view, no higher unity has presented itself than that of nationality or ethnological idiosyncracy. On the Semitic domain, we do, indeed, encounter in Abraham a man of God who does not find his nationality ready-made, but founds it himself; and who, from a simple Chaldean, becomes in Canaan, through a divine inspiration, the author of a religion adapted for all mankind. But all the other men of God, including Moses himself, frame a national religion. Nor have we, as yet, among the Aryans found such a phenomenon. Zoroaster is an Iranian Bactrian, Buddha an Aryan

Indian. As soon as the Aryan intellect grows powerful in Ionia and Hellas, everything beneath its influence wears or acquires a Hellenic shape. The Roman empire, it is true, formed a mixed nationality, and gave birth to a Hellenico-Roman religious consciousness. But the unity of the national element therein is but external, having superstition for its base, and scepticism for its superstructure, while hypocrisy furnishes its buttresses and decoration. At most, what remains as Hellenic religion is a shallow, lifeless worship of Humanity. Imperial paganism brings forth no new, world-historical offspring, that rises above the grandeur of the ancient national element, or even maintains that element in a condition of healthy development. Everything is national; the sacred traditions no less than the rites. Hence, in exhibiting the development of Aryan religious consciousness, we have hitherto had to divide our subject according to the distinctions of the various nationalities. What is it then which now compels us to abandon this method, if we would understand the subsequent unfolding of the religious sense? What is the reason why the national element retires into the background? It can only result from the pressure of some force commensurate with the whole range of Humanity, and some force that is truly inward and spiritual in its nature. That is to say, in other words, the motive force of the new configuration assumed by the life of Humanity is only to be found, if found anywhere, in the personality of Jesus of Nazareth. The pure human consciousness of God must have found expression in that Personality as it has done in no other. History, indeed, cannot treat of aught that transcends the limits of human nature and human personality, without ceasing to be history. Nevertheless, we shall be compelled to pronounce the shape which that Personality assumed,—free from the bonds at once of self-interest, of nationality, and of the age,—in an absolutely unique degree something divine, in order to understand the effects

it produced. Unless, indeed, we renounce the principle that a cause must be of like nature with its effect, and must, too, be something higher, since it is the fountain-head!

Thus the contemplation of this unique religious consciousness forms the sacred vestibule to the grand course of development which, receiving its primary impulse from Christ, has now been gradually unfolding itself before our eyes for nearly 2000 years. We must separate between the Apostles and Evangelists, and the Person of the Christ Whom they have proclaimed to the world, and the historical acquaintance with Whom has been preserved to us by their writings. They are rather to be considered as forming the Semitic rudiment of the Church's development, but a rudiment pregnant with the germs of the whole life of Humanity. In the history of man's religious consciousness, Christ is not the latest of the Jewish prophets, but the Father of the Christian prophets and nations—the Son of Man and the Son of God. The Apostles are His witnesses, the earliest of all Semitic Christians, and the primary founders of the Christian Churches. It is undisputed that from this date onwards, that development of the religious consciousness which has taken place among the Christian Aryans, has been the depositary of the dominant religious consciousness of mankind at large. But this development is unintelligible apart from that unique Personality. It is only by a continual comparison of the perfect Personality of Jesus, and of the lofty goal which He has set before us, with the development, national and individual, which has attached itself to Him, that we obtain a standard by which to measure the import of past Christian ages, a key to the understanding of ourselves and our own age, and a clue to guide our guesses at the future; but this knowledge does confer "peace of heart, peace of conscience."

Thus we shall not present the series of religious developments among the Christian Aryans according to

nationalities, but according to the two highest mental antitheses; namely, the respective achievements of the Community on the one hand, and the Individual on the other. This dual division is based upon the nature of man and the duality of the divine idea of Humanity, as made up of individual personalities, and as one Whole. In our delineation of the Græco-Roman world also, this dualism formed the groundwork, but it was as yet subordinated to the distinctions of nationality. Here, as there, the consciousness of the Community exhibits itself as two-fold. On the one hand, as that of the religious, and on the other as that of the civil fellowship. And while the former, in its contemplation of God, presupposes the existence of the universe, so does the latter presuppose the existence of God while engaged in the consideration of the world and its human order. But in the Hellenic development, the sense of a religious fellowship very early fades into the background behind the overpowering sense of the grandeur of the actual civil fellowship, and we have scarcely any other proof of its presence than is furnished by what we know of the literature of the nation. In the Christian development, on the contrary, our knowledge of the religious common life, both in worship and in organization, rests upon authentic documents; its history lies before us equally well attested with that of the civil community, and its healthy life is no less important for our purposes than that of the latter.

Thus the exhibition of this common consciousness will form our first division in the consideration of each period. Of these there will be three,—the Persecuted Church, the Hierarchical Church, the Reformed Church. Under each of these heads, our second section will be devoted to the religious consciousness of the prophets of the period. We had at first thought of dividing this whole account into our two concluding Books, but the importance of the results yielded by our enquiry, and of the consequences to be deduced therefrom, have proved themselves so overpowering that

we have felt it our duty to compress the historical survey into one Book. Moreover in such an account of the most recent past of the now-existing nations of the civilized world, completeness in our review of well-known individual facts is of less consequence than a clear apprehension of the world-wide historical import of the phenomena. Not that we desire arbitrarily to raise certain details into prominence while bridging over the chasms between them by authoritative *dicta*, or the doctrines of any speculative system. On the contrary, the facts which are decisive in their bearing upon the particular point in question, will be presented fully and consecutively in their best authenticated form, upon the authority of critical examination, and of my own independent researches. But only those salient points will be presented which bear upon universal history. Any details that are here taken for granted are such as have gradually been established on a secure footing by the honest and arduous critical investigation of the three last centuries. With regard to some of them the author may venture to refer his readers to the researches and critical observations made by himself in his former works.

Of course, there is also a perfectly distinct scientific point of view from which we might contemplate the phenomena presented by universal history. We might, indeed, starting from the phenomena of the spiritual consciousness, attempt to reach universal formulæ of the laws of development, either upon the path of pure speculation or in methodical connection with well-attested facts. We simply say that such is not the method pursued in the present work. We do not intend here to set up any system. The actual and regulative facts shall speak for themselves to the minds of our cultivated and earnest contemporaries.

The grounds which have determined the author to begin with the historical delineation are various. In the first place, he believes that a considerable portion of the most

important facts of the world's history bearing upon this subject, have not as yet been even so much as examined in a satisfactory manner or with reference to their concatenation in universal history. Far less, therefore, can he assume that they have already been brought under the focus of that universal religious consciousness and compared with each other as mutually connected facts relating to the most deeply implanted instinct of the human race. In the second place, he thinks he shall be able to show that the reason why the attempts hitherto made to exhibit the laws regulating the development of man's consciousness of God in History by means of pure speculation have failed, is, that from the very nature of the laws of our intelligence, as made known to us by experience, the method of pure speculation by itself is no more capable of landing us in true knowledge than that of mere empirical observation. But, lastly, he is quite convinced that it is possible to discover a historico-speculative, therefore truly scientific method, and by it to attain to a positive knowledge of the motive principle of the spiritual Kosmos placed under the conditions of Time; a knowledge which shall not only possess equal validity with our knowledge of the principle of motion in the physical Kosmos, but shall yield a far deeper understanding of the nature of things. As soon as the author has brought the present work to completion, he will deem it his duty to lay before the world his contribution to the philosophical treatment of man's religious consciousness founded on this basis. Thus the *Organon Reale* which we seek, will have to draw the outlines of a method which is capable of teaching us to find the principle of evolution in Humanity, and the laws of motion of the Finite Mind in the world's history. Let us now enter the holy vestibule of the last epoch in human development which we have to consider.

## CHAPTER II.

### CHRIST: OR, THE CONSCIOUSNESS EXPRESSED BY JESUS RESPECTING THE DIVINE AGENCY IN HUMAN HISTORY.

EVEN were we destitute of that which we actually possess —a veracious tradition respecting the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and the history of his three years of public teaching—a glance at the mental development of Humanity during the last eighteen centuries would compel us to assume the existence of some singularly exalted, holy Personality as the cause, and not simply the occasion, of that revolution in man's view of the universe. The mightiest of all mental revolutions (being no less than the introduction of a new formation of life) which the history of our world presents, points towards some corresponding, therefore still mightier, because originating, Personality; and any sober and thoughtful philosophy of history must demand such a Personality as a postulate. For the progress of any historical development reveals the defects and errors of the founder of a religion at least as clearly as his greatness and his truths; generally, indeed, far more clearly than the latter. It is one of the most alarming symptoms of this century that a philosophical study and theory of the universe should have been able to gain a footing which entirely ignores this relation of the cause to the effect, and places the true originating personality in the background. For such a theory is based on a refusal to recognize the Divine power of personality, or, in other words, of cultured and matured moral individuality; and this amounts to a denial of the supreme worth of morality above all mere intellectual thought. The God of such a

view is and remains for ever dead Thought, not living Will, making itself known by its activity within us. As we have already remarked, in our Introductory Book, there is no living principle in the Community which has not previously taken flesh and blood in some actual human, conscious personality. Now, the history of the Christian consciousness of God is precisely, by this instinctive postulate of the uncorrupted popular consciousness, raised into an irrefragable truth. To nothing else than to the purity and universality of that consciousness of God which is reflected in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, can we ascribe the fact that the Ideal of Humanity has emerged victorious from the ruins beneath which it seemed for ever entombed, at first in consequence of a civilization destitute of ideals, and afterwards of a barbarism groping about in blind ignorance. Nothing else than the harmony of His doctrine and His life, with the eternal laws of the moral order of the world, affords an adequate explanation of the great fact that the belief in the unity and future re-union of all mankind has never again been lost since His day, but, on the contrary, has struck deepest root in the life of the peoples, and is constantly tending to rule and mould the destinies of the nations in ever-widening circles.

When Jesus, with that divine self-consciousness which is precisely the highest human abnegation of self, and with that martyr-resolve devoid of all egotistic reserves, shattered the lifeless and life-destroying shell of degenerate Mosaism, He not only set free the spirit of the great Jewish lawgiver, imprisoned and petrified within that shell, but also unfettered the loftier spirit—loftier, because more widely human, and less encumbered with inconsistencies—which dwelt in Abraham, the founder of the religion of the free Spirit. Inasmuch as Jesus threw down the wall of partition which separated Jews and Greeks, and thereby held the whole world of that age in a pernicious dualism, He opened to view the inward bond that connected the life of Semites and Japhetites, a knowledge of which was in-

dispensable to the onward development of the race at large. Up to this time, the irreconcileable schism between these two races had formed the lever that had set the world's history in motion. A further consequence of which was that germs of life which organically belonged to each other were torn apart and held in the attitude of mutual antagonism. According to the saying of Jesus, it was not Moses but Abraham who had seen "the day of the Lord and was glad." But it was precisely because Jesus could assert with truth and self-consciousness; "Before Abraham was, I am"—because the Divine Nature, which is above all conditions of Time and discord and difference, dwelt immediately in Him—because the infinite factor in Him had absolutely sublimated into itself the finite factor—that He was able to conceive the idea of one undivided Humanity, of the unity linking together its varied fortunes and ultimate destiny;—to live for that Humanity, and to give Himself to death, conscious that He was thereby effecting the redemption of the Spirit. To the same cause must we ascribe it that the conception of Humanity which welled forth from Him has fertilized all nations containing within them the seeds of life, and given them power to regard themselves as the children of one race, as members of one kingdom of God, and in the strength imparted by this faith to trace the dark paths of the fortunes of this One Humanity.

Needs must that Humanity should be baptised anew through suffering and death into the Divine, in order that it might attain to a full sense of its godlike vocation, its temporal fall, and its eternal destination. Needs must that through loving servitude it should rise to that sense of brotherhood which is the ground of all fellowship and all bonds of race or nation. But all this presupposes that men have been individually conducted to freedom by release from the burden of sin, that is, of their own selfish nature. Thus alone could that true moral individuality grow up which we call personality, and which is the only true root

of a fruitful development of the Divine in Humanity. Each individual human soul has sprung forth from the Eternal, and after traversing its span in Time will return into the bosom of the Eternal again, in so far as the living seed of the Eternal has shot up in it here on earth. But it is the destiny of Humanity at large to realize progressively the Eternal in the Temporal.

Now, what is the faith which Christ demands in order to fulfil this divine vocation of Humanity? It finds its simple yet most sublime expression in the three first petitions of the Lord's prayer; "*Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*" For we cannot translate this into the language of our intellectual conceptions otherwise than as containing the petitions: "May all mankind put into act the will and the love of God. May the realities of history correspond to the eternal idea, despite all the defects and limitations incident to the finite; so that the eternal or heavenly may consciously reflect itself in the temporal or earthly." Mankind is meant to become free and united. This it can only do by means of the liberation of the mind from selfishness. But, as soon as the isolating Self is seen to be the evil principle, and its dethronement the vocation of Humanity, do individuals and communities, races and nations, stretch forth to each other the hand of brotherhood. But the pathway to this goal lies through the dissolution of selfish empires, therefore, through bloodshed and death. Such was the conscious life and conscious death of Jesus. "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what would I that it were already kindled?"[1]

Now, these three petitions correspond to the three series of development in the Community founded by Jesus,—that of the free congregation or Church (*Ecclesia*)—that of the spiritual worship—that of the brotherly love which solves all discords. In the first series, we shall see how the free

[1] Luke xii. 49.

congregation of believers, based on Christian family discipline, are called upon to render all brotherly aids to each other, to obey their elders for God's sake, paying obedience to all civil laws—yet ready to suffer death for conscience' sake. In the second, we behold the working out of the principle that all which appertains to the province of religion, *i.e.*, to the acting out of man's consciousness of the Divine, must spring from the inward disposition of the heart; hence, that no external act of devotion or brotherly service has any religious value *per se*, or even has in itself, as an act, a higher value than any other act. These two series of development are brought into connection with each other, and with the outer world, by the third, namely, the fulfilment of the supreme commandment given by Jesus, that every sentiment and every act should resolve itself into ministering love. As the result of these three courses of development, this actual world is to become the Kingdom of God. For the Kingdom of God spoken of in this prayer is unquestionably one which is to take place on earth. The individual "has eternal life" when he comes to know God's eternal love manifested under the conditions of Time. Humanity is destined to be the representative and realization of the Eternal on this earth. The perfect fulfilment of this ought to and will take place on this earth. Such is the postulate of the faith taught by Christ.

That which is eternal in God, lived in Jesus of Nazareth within the compass of one brief human life, but in personal entirety. After His death began the development of the Community or Church through the Spirit of Jesus, the Spirit of the Eternal Father. This process commenced first of all in the persons of the disciples, who were to be His witnesses. The respective personal endowments and characters of these leaders of the nascent development supplemented each other, and thus no lasting divisions arose, but there grew up a unity in multiplicity which became the type of the religious consciousness of the

Christian communities. Thus was manifested, for the first time, the divine incarnation of Humanity in the Church,[1] as there had before been manifested in Christ the incarnation of God in an individual life. But the manifestation of God in the Church is a perpetual *coming-to-be*, not a consummated fact. It was by slow degrees, in silent obscurity, and amidst persecution, that this spiritual Personality entered the Græco-Roman world as the presence of God in Man. But from the moment that Christianity became the state-religion—a kingdom of this world, with laws enforced by the coercion of the civil power—the religious consciousness that had animated the early Church became entangled in manifold complications, and various anomalies arose, in which we are all consciously or unconsciously more or less involved.

The aim of the present work is confined to exhibiting, in its broad general outlines, how the beliefs entertained by the Christian world respecting its own destinies and the

[1] The word here translated "Church" is the same translated in the previous sentence "community," and in other places "congregation." It is "*Gemeinde*," equivalent to "community" or "society," and is used equally of the civil or ecclesiastical fellowship. Bunsen constantly employs this term in speaking of the Church in preference to the word "*Kirche*," because the latter term has come with the Germans to be almost restricted to the hierarchical or clerical authorities of the Church, while "*Gemeinde*" is the word most generally current among the German Protestants to denote the Church at large, and the term "*Catholic Church*" with them is exclusively applied to the Roman Catholic communion. Among ourselves, on the contrary, the definition of the Church in our nineteenth Article—"a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly administered," is so completely the accepted sense of the word "Church" no less among the various bodies of Nonconformists than in the Anglican communion, that we are in no danger of confounding "the Church" with the clergy; while, on the other hand, the term "congregation" is *not* used among us to denote the collective *Ecclesia*, but either the laity in contradistinction to the clergy, or else individual gatherings of Christians in contradistinction to the whole Christian society, and "*Congregationalists*" is the title assumed by that sect, which negatives the idea of any visible universal Christian union, and insists on the absolute independence of single congregations. For these reasons I have translated the word "*Gemeinde*" in each instance according to what seemed to me to be the leading idea in the particular passage, by the terms "Church," "Church at large," "congregation," "community," "society," or "laity."—Tr.

actual presence of God in the world, have developed themselves out of the religious consciousness of Jesus of Nazareth. For the Christian belief is essentially the belief in Christ's personal Divine consciousness, that is to say, the belief that Jesus beheld, and has therefore proclaimed the truth as it lived in His own Divine consciousness; and that we possess an adequate knowledge of what He did actually assert on the subject.

And, in fact, it is hard to say whether the uniqueness and sublimity of that consciousness of God has been more signally manifested in that which Jesus has Himself said and taught respecting the development of God's Kingdom upon earth, or in that which He has left to the free unfolding of the Spirit in the communities founded by Him, and the consequent growth of the Divine element in Humanity. We have seen how all that was excellent in the persons and teachings of the earlier Founders of religions, had forfeited its power of adaptation to mankind at large and become more or less one-sided, arbitrary, conventional (and in so far false and inefficient), because external prescriptions of merely accidental, or at all events, non-essential worth or suitability for mankind at large had been mixed up with the pure inward apprehension of God, and were conceived of and clung to as an essential part of religion; whether these prescriptions related to sacrifices and rites, or to a certain form for the organization of the communities. According to the rules of ordinary human wisdom, nothing could be more unwise than what Jesus did, and evidently did consciously and designedly:—viz., to found a religious community without positive enactments and definitions on these two points. And yet it is precisely this which is the ground of the indestructibility and universality of Christ's religion. Nay, might it not be susceptible of philosophic proof that this "folly of man" is the true wisdom? May not the contrary so-called rational view of the case prove to be, strictly speaking, the irrational, precisely because it is the unspiritual view? It

proceeds upon the assumption that what is external has its ground of subsistence in itself, while, on the contrary, all that exists under the condition of Time, by the very terms of the case, has its cause external to itself. It has its existence only in virtue of its cause, and is intelligible only when recognized to be not self-existent but temporary. But that assumption places the Temporary above the Permanent, which is a logical contradiction. The outward religion is not the mother but the child of the inward; nay, so soon as any independent importance and efficacy is ascribed to it, it inevitably becomes the death of the true consciousness of God.

We must now endeavour to exhibit those points of the religion of Jesus which bear upon the presence and power of the Divine Element in human history, in the same manner in which we collected together the sayings of other prophets of Humanity, and placed them under the focus of their respective apprehensions of the presence of God. The method which we have chosen for this purpose is the following:—We shall restrict our attention to the main points which we have found occasion to consider in our history of man's religious consciousness. We shall then briefly state what appears to us the substantive idea of each several point, and illustrate our position by the assertions of Jesus bearing upon that point. The words of His disciples we shall only adduce, in the second place, as explanatory and illustrative. Finally, we shall, in each case, gather up the historical result from the point of view taken by our present enquiry.

The order in which we have arranged our propositions has its ground in the design of bringing before our readers, in the first instance, Christ's own consciousness respecting Himself and His relations to the disciples; and then, in the second place, Christ's own view of the results which would follow from the continuous working on and on of this belief in the Church and in mankind at large. By this method we are conducted to the twelve following

propositions, which we shall now bring before our readers in the order above indicated.

### 1. *The Eternal, Jesus, Humanity.*

God, in His own Essence, the Eternal, dwells in man, and ought to be discerned as the true Divine Principle of man's Being and his Highest Good. In Jesus this union was absolutely perfect, so as to constitute a spiritual Nature.

"No man can come to me except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day." [1]

"Then said Jesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things." [2]

"Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." [3]

"Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said ye are gods? If he called them gods, unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?" [4]

"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in me, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me." [5]

"All things are delivered to me of my Father, and no man knoweth who the Son is but the Father, and who the Father is but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him." [6]

"But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.

[1] John vi. 44. [2] John viii. 28. [3] John xiv. 23.
[4] John x. 34-36. [5] John xvii. 20-23. [6] Luke x. 22.

"Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth, and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel." [1]

"For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man." [2]

"For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." [3]

"Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father." [4]

---

"And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." [5]

"But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." [6]

"To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." [7]

"Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." [8]

"That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." [9]

[1] John v. 17, 19, 20. [2] John v. 26, 27. [3] John iii. 16.
[4] John x. 17, 18. [5] Rev. xi. 15. [6] 1 Cor. xi. 3.
[7] Eph. iii. 10, 11. [8] Col. i. 15–17. [9] 1 John i. 3.

"For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we also are his offspring." [1]

The Spirit of God dwells in every man who has not closed his heart against the inward apprehension of God. This apprehension is of God's own producing within him. There is no true revelation except by means of the Spirit of God working in man. Hence all true revelation comes to us through the intervention of human persons; at the head of whom stands One whose enlightenment is direct and original. In so far as man surrenders himself to the Eternal God, and resolves to live in accordance with the eternal laws of the universe (*i.e.* with the will of God), he obeys the innermost impulse of his being; and in so far as he feels himself impelled to act out in his own person the loving thought of the Eternal Father, by struggling against the evil within him, does he help to build up the Kingdom of God and consequently the true progress of Humanity. Jesus is called the Son of God, because in Him this consciousness had been made an actual Nature. But all men are the children of God, and will discern God's Spirit within themselves, if they follow in Christ's footsteps. Hence He is our Saviour—He through whom Humanity is consciously redeemed from the burden of its sins, and made at one, or reunited with, the Father.

### 2. *The Eternal Life of Earthly Man.*

The pathway to the reunion with God lies through the renunciation of the selfish will, and the attestation of this deed of self-annihilation by active, self-sacrificing love. This (union with God) is eternal life.

"And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." [2]

"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of

[1] Acts xvii. 28. [2] John xvii. 3.

me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." [1]

"Jesus answered them and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." [2]

"And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live." [3]

"Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit." [4]

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." [5]

"And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." [6]

"Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." [7]

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." [8]

But whereas mankind,—those that are under the law, no less than the rest of the race,—have lost the true love of God, and are at variance with Him, Jesus, Who is at once the Son of Man and the Son of God in the only perfect sense, has fulfilled the will of the eternal Father by calling men into a spiritual fellowship, in which each individual human being stands, or ought to stand, in a personal relation to the Saviour. The reception of this message lifts off, for the first time, the burden which conscience lays upon the heart, and removes man's blindness to the wretchedness of sin and separation from God.

[1] Matt. xi. 28–30. [2] John vii. 16, 17. [3] Luke x. 28.
[4] John iii. 5, 6. [5] John xii. 24. [6] Luke vii. 50.
[7] Matt. xxiii. 23. [8] John v. 24.

This act of acceptance is called FAITH, the union with God which is restored by it is called JUSTIFICATION, the life that flows therefrom SANCTIFICATION, which is the constantly progressive process of union with God. As sanctification presupposes justifying faith, so the end of faith is sanctification, which is at once the evidence and the fruit of faith. Only in this mode do we escape at once the dangers of a mere intellectual belief of the understanding, or of a righteousness consisting in works, both of which are delusions, or self-seeking under a new shape; and indeed the most perilous of shapes, inasmuch as it darkens, nay, annihilates the relation of the individual's life to the Eternal Father, and to His "express image" in the Saviour. This is the doctrine insisted on in all the Apostolical Epistles.

### 3. *The True Religion.*

Christ's own Divine consciousness is identical with the true religion. The spirit of loving self-sacrifice which pours itself forth in active deeds of goodness for the sake of the brethren and the community, is the true worship.

"Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father."

"But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."[1]

"And he said to them all, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it."[2]

"A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."[3]

---

[1] John iv. 21, 23, 24. [2] Luke ix. 23, 24. [3] John xiii. 34, 35.

"If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." [1]

"Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him and in you, because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes." [2]

"In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." [3]

"And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity." [4]

Thus we see that in the surrender of man's selfish will to the will of God, as the alone good and true, we have found the fulfilment of all symbolical sacrifices. For the only true and effectual *sacrifice* is the surrender of the thankful soul to God, knowing itself to be beloved by the Father in Christ, Who has perfectly given up His own will to the Father for the redemption of mankind from sin, with all the disorder and misery that sin has brought about. Thus to live for the brethren is the *continual sacrifice* demanded of all in whose ears the glad tidings have resounded, and cannot be severed from that complete and perfect sacrifice of Christ once made in its own due time. All outward religious service must henceforward be a worship of God in spirit and in truth, whether that worship take the shape of teaching the brethren, arousing them to repentance, or of the ever-renewed vows of self-surrender made by the believing heart. Every other cultus must cease; but the true worship, which first began with Christ, shall never cease, but is

[1] 1 John i. 6. [2] 1 John ii. 8–11. [3] 1 John iii. 10.
[4] 2 Pet. i. 5–7.

the continuous pulse-beat of humanity—responsive to the Divine Agent within, Who is moulding it into progressive likeness to Himself. Thus the *mode* of worship may change, but not its *essence*, which is no other than the praise of the Eternal Father, of His manifestation of Himself in Jesus, and of the Holy Spirit proceeding from both, Who worketh ever more and more effectually in believing mankind. Hence it will assuredly come to be more and more acknowledged, that all external religious acts—therefore also even the holy vows or sacraments offered in public worship—occupy a subordinate place compared to the sacrifice of the life. But on the other hand, inasmuch as the efficacy of the sign depends upon the spiritual power of that which it signifies, the *cultus* will attain an elevation and dignity as yet scarcely imagined, so soon as it becomes the spontaneous outpouring of the soul-felt confession of the individual and the congregation, that the whole life is a service of God, while prayer is felt to be the natural symbol and the corresponding expression of the life-sacrifice.

### 4. *The Kingdom of God upon Earth.*

Christ's Divine consciousness is destined to renew the individual human souls and bring them into a living communion with God. On this new-birth through the Spirit of Christ depend the redemption of the individual man and the future of God's kingdom on earth; for the extension of the kingdom of God is to be effected through the efforts of the regenerate.

"I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me." [1]

"And yet if I judge, my judgment is true, for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." [2]

"For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even

[1] John v. 30. [2] John viii. 16.

as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." [1]

"And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of heaven." [2]

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." [3]

---

"And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth." [4]

Through this rekindling of the Divine element in the life of Humanity, this actual world around us will be made holy, or sanctified; as in the individual, so also in the social life; that is to say, in marriage, the family, the Church, the State. In all these relationships, the religion of Christ recognizes no form as moral except that of liberty, established under the sanction of law. For slavery, coercion, arbitrary power are alike incompatible with the Kingdom of God upon earth, and with the well-being of each individual soul. Thus all empires founded upon violence must perish, no less than all corporations of men, even though free, which are built up on the basis of selfishness; whether this selfishness take the form of sensuality, or covetousness, or ambition. The nation which professes a belief in Christ, and yet is a slave to this selfishness, stands self-condemned to the extent in which it is free. Christ, Who as a perfectly holy human being, proclaimed the will of God with overwhelming distinctness to the conscience and reason, will in His character of the Judge of the world alike annihilate such a nation or such an empire, and leave the individual sinner the victim of his own inward wretchedness. All who have done despite to the Spirit will perish through Christ, even as those two powers of this world which persecuted the Spirit when He was on earth perished through Him;—the Jewish

[1] John v. 22, 23. Cf. John iii. 6. [2] Luke vi. 20.
[3] Matt. v. 5. [4] Rev. v. 9, 10.

hierarchy and the Roman empire. From this doctrine of the accomplishment of God's kingdom upon earth, it follows also that this earthly life will decide the future state of the soul. For the tribunal which is to judge the whole world is seated in a human conscience, in the absolutely pure Representative of human nature; the highest earthly justice is identical with the eternal justice. Thus, when the Son of God speaks as the mouthpiece of the Eternal Right, what He will condemn is that which is condemned by the conscience of mankind, and this is naught else than what the voice of conscience proclaims to each man with judicial authority, when he is brought face to face with eternity, in the hour of death, or at any other critical moment in his life.

### 5. *Sin and Evil.*

Sin is the only (real) evil. It is the consequence of the selfish misuse of man's free self-determination, but must perforce, like its parent selfishness, conduce to the furthering of the Kingdom of God, because the moral order of the world is so constituted that sin is self-destructive.

"Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there was no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." [1]

"Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." [2]

"If Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out devils through Beelzebub." [3]

"And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name."

"Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven." [4]

"And behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when

[1] John viii. 44. [2] Matt. xviii. 7. [3] Luke xi. 18. [4] Luke x. 17, 20.

she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment."

"Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven." [1]

---

"But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. But when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." [2]

"Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage." [3]

"I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father. I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." [4]

"If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." [5]

"For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous. For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." [6]

Thus the evil that is in the world is the sum of the sins committed by individual human beings, and its natural consequence (only to be averted by the Divine power) is spiritual death. The sum of evil forms a power independent of the individual man, though in which he shares.

[1] Luke vii. 37, 45-48. [2] James i. 14, 15. [3] Heb. ii. 14, 15.
[4] 1 John ii. 13, 14. [5] 1 John i. 8. [6] 1 John v. 3, 4.

It is this power, having its roots in men's hearts and exhibiting itself in the world's history as the ruling principle, which Jesus, adopting the current language of his own countrymen, calls "Satan," or "the devil" (the adversary or accuser). The consequences of the sins of individuals are averted by the acknowledgment of sin as that which separates man from God and from the sense of His eternal love. This acknowledgment, if it proceed, not from fear, but from faith in God's love and in the power of His Divine Spirit in the soul, removes the effects of sin within the heart and restores the communion with God. What is true of the Individual must also hold good of the Community, and, consequently, also of the race at large; for every diminution of sin diminishes the collective force of sin in the world and therefore also of evil. The conscious voluntary surrender of the life even unto death, made for the express purpose of implanting this faith and enkindling the energy of the Divine in men's hearts, must therefore form the very act of redemption, and He who has accomplished it is alone the Redeemer of Mankind. From which it now further follows, that like as we are bound to regard all the evil and suffering that we experience ourselves or witness in the world around us, simply as means destined to the furtherance of good, so especially ought we to regard the bitter sufferings of Jesus as at once the voluntary and highest act of self-sacrifice and devotion to God, and the most signal proof of the eternal love of God to men. The theory that Christ's propitiatory sacrifice was made to appease the wrath of God is, when referred to the Eternal Father, a transference of the conception of Moloch to that God who is Love, a misunderstanding of that which is true only of the sense of the curse laid by sin on man's spirit. The wrath of God, of which both the individual soul and Humanity at large are conscious, is annihilated on the first act of faith in the redemption, and this sense of God's wrath is the death which Jesus has destroyed.

### 6. *The Unity of the Kingdom of God on Earth.*

The whole history of the development of man's apprehension of God prior to Christ tends towards one or other of the two aims, whose unity is the key to the understanding of both the self-sacrificing love of Christ towards man, and the Kingdom of God founded by Him. Hence the Scriptures testify of Jesus, and this outward testimony is confirmed by the inner witness.

"Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it and was glad." [1]

"And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." [2]

"And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape. And ye have not his word abiding in you: for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." [3]

"I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me." [4]

---

"But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." * * * *

"But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." [5]

"This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth." * * * *

"For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son. He

[1] John viii. 56. [2] Luke xxiv. 44. (Cf. vii.)
[3] John v. 37–39. [4] John vii. 18. [5] John ii. 20, 27.

that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not, God hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son."[1]

According to God's eternal counsels of love, His divine Spirit has been ever working in Humanity; but was so in a special manner in Abraham, the Friend of God, for this man already saw in spirit the advent of the Son of Man, Who should be at once conscious of His own dignity as Son of God and filled with love towards mankind.

Now, since Jesus assumes that the inward witness and the truth taught by historical testimony are alike certain and incontestable, and refers his disciples to this outward testimony (the Bible), the inward witness must also exist in the believer. He is to read, and so far as he has ability, search or investigate the Scriptures in order to his enlightenment and sanctification, because they testify of the eternal counsels of redemption, and of the act accomplished by the Redeemer; but the end and aim of all Bible-reading is that the believers should receive the inward witness (or "anointing"). Now this highest witness again presupposes the historical witness, the preaching of the word respecting Jesus; else the actual historical fact would convey no truth. But inasmuch as it is a truth, any obscuration of the testimony borne by historical documents—therefore, above all, to withdraw the Bible from the congregation, or relegate it to the background—must have the effect of converting that inward belief into something fantastic, imaginary, unreal, whether it be the belief of the Individual or of the Church; therefore, in fact, of turning it into a superstition akin to, or even tantamount to unbelief.

[1] 1 John v. 6, 8, 9.

### 7. *The Relation of Christ's Religion to that of the Jews.*

Hence Christ does not break the chain of connection with the revelation vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, nor yet with that made through the Law and the Prophets, but on the contrary, renders both for the first time intelligible.

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."[1]

"Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the Prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished."[2]

"And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures."[3]

God's purpose to make a progressive revelation of Himself upon the earth, forms the inward connecting-thread of history. Consequently, all that in the Law and the Prophets has been hinted at, guessed at, or openly proclaimed, must, in accordance with the foregoing words of Christ, receive its fulfilment, either in the Son of God or in that Kingdom of the Spirit which the Son has founded upon earth, and sealed with His voluntary surrender of Himself to death.

Hence the tie which binds together the inward life of the Individual with that of the whole body of Humanity, is never to be severed; believers are not to repudiate the historical revelation, nor are their pastors to bar their free access to it. The authority of the ancient Scripture, considered as the depositary of historical revelation up to the time of Christ, is permanent and regulative for all ages, according to the measure in which the universal re-

[1] Matt. v. 17, 18. [2] Luke xviii. 31. [3] Luke xxiv. 44, 45.

lation of men to the Eternal has been expressed in its traditions. The existence of the Eternal Father is postulated by Christianity; but His presence is made manifest to us through the medium of a perfect Personality. Wherever we find a foreshadowing of a preparation for this Person and this Kingdom, there is prophecy.[1] As Christ, —therefore the Kingdom of God,—is the end and aim of the revelation of Jehovah in the Ancient Dispensation, so is the advent of the true Founder of that Kingdom for Humanity, the starting-point of the New Dispensation; in both, Christ remains the constant axis; and it is by the working of His Spirit that the Kingdom of God advances in the Christian Church. Thus, throughout the Scriptures, the degree of permanent and regulative (or canonical) authority to be assigned to them, must be determined by the extent to which they express this relation to the Eternal Father and to His Kingdom.

8. *Christ's Attitude towards the Religious Consciousness of the Gentiles.*

According to the testimony of Christ, a consciousness of God exists, though it may be dormant, in other nations and religions besides the Jewish. The reception of the Gospel constitutes the meeting-point for all Mankind.

"I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father, and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd."[2]

"Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.[3] (Cf. the passages quoted under Section 1, and the discourse of Jesus to the Samaritan woman, Section 3.)"

---

"For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having

[1] See p. 27, John v. 37, 39.
[2] John x. 14, 15, 16. [3] Luke xxi. 24.

abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body on the Cross, having slain the enmity thereby."

"Now ye are therefore no more strangers nor foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone: in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. In whom we also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit."[1]

The development of the human race is designed to and will take place in virtue of that reunion with God, which was for the first time in Jesus consciously consummated and perfected in holiness. The partition-walls between Jews and Greeks, and between Greeks and Barbarians must alike be thrown down. But from this it further follows indefeasibly, that the outward must give place to the inward, and all men acknowledge each other as brethren, on the ground of their common son-ship to God. There must be no new "law" set up under the Gospel. To do so would be to crucify Christ afresh. On the contrary, in order that Christianity may be able to fulfil its high vocation of becoming the religion of the whole world, the faith in God's presence in the individual man and in Humanity must grow ever mightier, more operative, more universal, therefore constantly more inward and living, by so much as that which is spiritual is that which is alone Essential. From which, lastly, it again follows, that progress must be measured by the standard of adherence to the spiritual view of Scripture; therefore, according to the purity of our faith in the Eternal Father as the sole source of all being, in Christ as the sole Redeemer, in the Holy Spirit as the sole source of enlightenment and sanctification.

[1] Eph. ii. 14–16, 19–22.

9. *The Church is the Vessel of God among Mankind.*

No new Son of God, in the highest sense, will ever appear again; but immediately after Jesus has returned to the bosom of the Father, His Spirit, which is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, will be poured forth upon His Church; and the Church will become, from that time onwards, the depositary and channel of God's Spirit. This pouring out of the Spirit upon Mankind presupposes the glorification of God in Jesus. There is nothing in the Spirit which was not perfected in the Son, and nothing in Humanity which has not pre-existed in the Son of Man—in the Perfect Personality.

"Nevertheless, I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment."

"Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you."[1]

"For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[2]

"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."[3]

That Divine creative Spirit, implanted in believing mankind, will remain in or with the Church or "company of Christ's faithful followers." Thus the Church stands by a divine right, as the chosen vessel of God, to the end of the world; and however protracted this series of development may be, the progress of God's kingdom, or the divine element pervading with unbroken continuity

[1] John xvi. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15. [2] Matt. xviii. 20. [3] Matt. xxviii. 20.

the successive strata of nationality, will, from the Christian era onwards, constitute the great historical epochs. Our very use of this datum of chronology is the symbol of this world-wide historical import of that Divine Kingdom which commences with Christ. Thus, considered from the highest point of view, the epochs of the general history of mankind coincide with those of its ecclesiastical history. All the rest are but episodes, transitions, means to an end.

Hence—it would further seem to follow—the promise of the constant presence of the Spirit of Christ with His Church would appear to belong to that communion which holds fast, with the greatest purity, the belief in this relation of the Father to the Son, and of the Holy Spirit at once to the Church, and to the Scriptures as the historical witness. Such a communion alone will leave free scope to the inward free witness of the Spirit in the shape of science, and to the faith in the progressive well-being and morality of families and nations resulting from the advance of knowledge.

10. *The Liberty and Judicial Function of the Ecclesia.*

The Church, regarded as the vehicle of the Spirit of God in the highest sense, is free, and is the Supreme Judge in things spiritual.

"Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church, but if he neglect the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1]

"For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[2]

[1] Matt. xviii. 15-18. [2] Matt. xviii. 20.

"Thy kingdom come."

"Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." [1]

"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." [2]

"When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." [3]

"But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." [4]

"And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you. Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house. He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." [5]

The Church, which judges righteous judgment, stands above any individual; but she herself rests upon that

[1] John xiv. 23. [2] John xvii. 20, 21. [3] Matt. xvi. 13-18.
[4] Matt. xxiii. 8. [5] Matt. xii. 27-32.

personal faith which recognizes the Father in the Son, and strives after a union with both, through the Spirit. From which it follows that the freedom of the Church in things spiritual is conditional upon the freedom of conscience possessed by its individual members, and that neither can be oppressed without disparagement to the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit, and the unity based thereon of the several factors of man's religious consciousness. It is essential to the liberty of the Church that she should freely exercise her judicial function in things spiritual in the name of Christ, as her King, and sole Lord and Master. The infringement of this would be the first step towards that fearful sin which is not to be forgiven, namely, the blasphemy of asserting that the Spirit working in the Church is the Spirit of Evil and not that Spirit of God which wars against the wicked one.

### 11. *The Personal Nature of all True Faith.*

The Church stands upon personal faith, and hence it has its divinely-promised continuity of existence, solely in virtue of the moral perception of God residing in the individual believers or saints, the followers of Christ.

"He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself unto him." [1]

"And call no man your Father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven." [2]

"All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out."

"No man can come to me except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day. It is written in the Prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man, therefore, that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." [3]

[1] John xiv. 21. [2] Matt. xxiii. 9. [3] John vi. 37, 44, 45.

"And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." [1]

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." [2]

---

"For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." [3]

Thus the believer is to enter into a personal relation to God, in the Son, his Lord and Master, without any intervening medium. No one is "Father" and "Lord" of our faith save God and Christ; consequently, all true religion is a personal matter, and that Church only is the true one, which, on the one hand, places faith in the Redeemer as the ground of our sanctification above all else, and in inseparable conjunction with the faith in the Father; while, on the other hand, it makes this faith something personal, and regards it as only to be maintained through the conscious acknowledgement of individual moral responsibility. Any contrary view is anti-Christian, and must and will pass away.

12. *The Perfect Accomplishment of the Kingdom of God.*

The eternal life of the individual members of the Kingdom of God is made perfect through the death of their body, which forms their introduction into a complete union with God. Hence the full accomplishment of this Kingdom itself can be nothing else than the sublimation of all things earthly into the divine.

"And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." [4]

"Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away and come again unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I." [5]

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now

[1] John xvii. 3. [2] John vi. 47. [3] 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.
[4] Luke xxiii. 43. [5] John xiv. 28.

is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the grave shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. I can of my own self do nothing: as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will, but the will of my Father which hath sent me." [1]

"Nevertheless, I tell you the truth. It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment: of sin, because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." [2]

"Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out." [3]

"But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." [4]

---

"For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." [5]

"And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many: and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation." [6]

[1] John v. 24-30. [2] John xvi. 7-11. [3] John xii. 31.
[4] Luke xx. 35, 36. [5] 1 Cor. xv. 25-28. [6] Heb. ix. 27, 28.

From which it follows, that all the figurative expressions of Jesus respecting the last day are to be understood in accordance with the unmistakeably spiritual import of the words here quoted from St. John; and in particular, that those expressions of His, which are borrowed, not from the Old Testament, but from the current use of language in His own day, must have been meant merely as approximative indications of His thought, employed for the sake of the Jews around Him. So, for instance, we must regard the mention, in Luke xiv. 14, of "the resurrection of the just," which, according to the Jewish belief of that day, was to precede the general resurrection to judgment, and was therefore called "the first resurrection." The same may be said of the speech of our Lord to the malefactor, which we have placed at the head of the foregoing citations. The term "paradise" signified, when used in reference to the dead, the subterranean sojourning-place of the righteous. There Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were dwelling. This is the place referred to in the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The reverse of this was Gehenna, the lower-world of the wicked. Were we to take expressions like these in their literal acceptation for divine revelation, we should be seeking a revelation of the Eternal in statements that neither harmonize with the self-consciousness of Jesus, nor find any support in the Scriptures of the Jewish revelation. On the contrary, we should, in so doing, be placing the post-Biblical theology of the Pharisees and mere popular poetry above Jesus and the Bible. Thus, throughout the Gospels and other Christian scriptures, such expressions as the "resurrection of the body," "the first" and "second resurrection," &c., are not to be understood as so literally expressing the inmost mind of Jesus Himself as to override those absolutely original and perfectly clear utterances of His which we have quoted above, or even to be placed in the same rank with these. But neither, on the other hand, can such expressions have

stood in contradiction with Christ's own religious consciousness, or else He would not have made use of them to convey that consciousness under the vehicle of popular imagery. But their underlying thought, and therefore the key to their meaning, is unquestionably contained in the fifth and eighth chapters of St. John's Gospel. The righteous alone, he who believes with the heart, enjoys while on earth that peace of soul which all seek, and after death a divine life, which can no more be interrupted by death. For the expression, "He shall not come into condemnation (or judgment)" (John v. 24), is equivalent to that other—"He shall never see death" (viii. 51). The unrighteous man must undergo judgment and death, and shall not be admitted to the vision of God. The former are no longer subject to the body of death. Thus the eternity of future blessedness is taught by Jesus, but not eternal (therefore timeless) damnation.

Lastly, it follows from Christ's theory of the world's order, that true progress in history consists in the gradual transformation of everything natural into the likeness of the Divine, and that the distinction between things spiritual and secular is merely transient; for true Christianity is destined to take up into itself in ever-widening circles all that is natural, and working after the pattern of the Creator, to sublimate that which bears its image into itself; just as in the physical creation, the whole of the visible Kosmos is gathered up into and glorified in Man. The Eternal Thought puts on a body, to the end that a Personal Spirit should spring forth therefrom and glorify the Eternal Father.

Now, from these twelve propositions, it indisputably follows that it was no accidental circumstance that Christ bequeathed to the disciples no precepts respecting the organization of His Church or the mode of religious worship; *i. e.* respecting precisely those points which all previous religions had regarded as essentials. The omission was intentional, and is to be explained by the absolute

clearness of His consciousness of Divine things; according to the teachings of which, what is outward has no value and no place in the true religion, except in so far as it is a product of the mind of the Christian Community. Any prescription on such points would have nullified the working of the Spirit. But Jesus might not say less to the disciples than He did say; He might not conceal the mystery of the inward bond of unity between God and the human Son of God, because therein alone consists the truth revealed by Him; therein alone consist at once the deepest humiliation of the Divine, and the highest elevation of Humanity. He well knew that this disclosure, even though couched in mere hints, would bring down upon Him the fanatical hatred of the priesthood and of the populace who were devoted to them; for such an assertion could not fail to appear to them and to the multitude of their adherents, who "trusted in the Law," as blasphemy; probably to a much higher degree than Abraham's refusal to sacrifice his son to Moloch appeared to the men of his time.

Finally, He was commissioned to reveal to His disciples as the future in store for God's kingdom, the progressive incarnation of God in the Church of redeemed Humanity. To the revelation of the unity of the Father—the Eternal or Jehovah of the Old Testament—with the Son (as the eternal Word made flesh) was now to be added the revelation and manifestation of the Spirit. The Spirit of God, who was to enter the human fellowship by means of the Spirit of Christ, is announced to them as the Spirit of the Father and of the Son. They are to recognize this Spirit in themselves, namely, in the congregation of the faithful, which is to be the Judge of the world unto the end of time.

The whole manifestation and teaching of Christ is meaningless without this thought. It will be seen, too, hereafter, that this idea has always been the vivifying and energizing element in the development of Christendom. And such it certainly must be, if Christianity is to be an

historical and eternal truth. For these three, the Eternal, the Son, and the Spirit, include all that is *positive* in Christianity. All else is conventional, derived, calculated only for particular times and circumstances, and therefore only conditionally possessed of the truth.

Thus, if we once more glance back to that Personality of Jesus which is reflected in these His teachings, the utter dissimilarity between Him and all the founders of religions who have preceded Him, becomes most conspicuous, precisely when regarded from the point of view taken by our present enquiry. His teaching is unique and purely divine, by the very circumstance that it professes to be pure *self-consciousness* without any admixture. There is nothing in the sayings above quoted that relates to externals; nothing is borrowed from extraneous sources, to eke out the knowledge derived from within, and serve as an auxiliary to the construction of the new religion. Thus the faith of Christians has two pivots; one fixed, unconditionally regulative pivot, external to itself, viz.: the testimony of Jesus respecting His own Divine consciousness; and one fixed pivot within itself, viz.: the *consensus* of Conscience and Reason.

Secondly: This religion founded by Jesus, must needs have its essential manifestation; though, like that of the Son, it appears "in the form of a servant;" namely, its manifestation in the life of the Church, just as thought seeks and finds its necessary expression in language.

Now, any one whose mind is thoroughly penetrated with these fundamental verities respecting Christ's teaching on this subject, will readily perceive what an enormous power for good and for evil was introduced into the world by Christianity. The consciousness of the presence of God in man and in the Church was a divine Force; but what a strife must it infallibly enkindle! what hitherto unknown perils must any deviation from this harmony of the three factors of history necessarily entail! Christianity is constructive and conservative only so long as it is the

religion of the Ethical Mind. Unless we retain a firm grasp of those three great ideas of the eternity of the Father, Who constitutes the Infinite Factor,—of the only-begotten Son, the pure, perfect Personality of the Redeemer,—and of the holiness of the Spirit, therefore of the Church which is His visible (and yet invisible) organ, Christianity can only obstruct and destroy. For if this harmony be in any way disturbed, the Church will fall back either into Judaism or into heathenism. But whereas, on the other hand, it is bound to acknowledge the Bible, more especially the Gospels, and to profess its belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are the Eternal made manifest; it is inevitable that moral earthquakes and convulsions should take place, and that antagonistic tendencies should be evolved which, carried to their extreme results, should exceed all that Judaism and heathenism have exhibited during their period of decadence.

## CHAPTER III.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN HISTORY POSSESSED BY CHRIST'S APOSTLES AND BY THE EARLIEST SEMITIC CHURCHES.

THE first Christian century belongs chiefly, some portion of it exclusively, to Hebraism. The Apostles and their first envoys of the faith were Jews; and just as James, Peter, Paul, and John dominate this whole century, so did the Jewish Christians constitute, for the most part, the main body of the churches in Antioch no less than in Jerusalem. The Greek and Roman Aryans held indeed an equal rank in the Christian community, but they everywhere engrafted themselves more or less upon the Jewish stem. The Sabbath was observed as well as the Sunday ("the first day of the week"). Up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish Christians frequented the Temple, and took part in its services. In Jerusalem, and especially throughout Judæa, James, the brother of the Lord, seems to have exercised a sort of presidency over the other Apostles.

Now, as regards the Apostles in general, their religious consciousness found its chief sphere in the founding of the Churches. They proved their unity of Spirit with their Divine Master, in the first place, by proclaiming the words that He had committed to their charge and imprinting them on the memory of those whom they sent forth to be Evangelists; and, secondly, their own lives constituted a witness and evidence for the truth of the Gospel faith. But, besides this, they were themselves enabled to found the Christian Churches, through the power of the Holy Ghost which had come upon them.

Of the twelve Apostles, two only can be said to belong to history—that is, to have exerted a personal guiding influence upon the world's history, that confers on them a typical or representative character—these are Peter and John; midway between whom stands the great post-humous Apostle Paul. Peter is the embodiment of the first of these three great developments which in Jesus alone find their perfect meeting-point:—THE CHURCH, FAITH, LOVE.

The formation of a society resting on human, not on Jewish, or Greek, or Roman, brotherhood, sprang out of the voluntary association and fraternization of the believers, who recognize each other in a divine fellowship on the ground of faith in the Son of God; a society governed by the Holy Spirit; a society that, in this Spirit and bound together in this love, governs itself; a society divided by the accidents of locality and race, yet one in faith over the whole earth. This society obeys willingly, because for God's sake, its elders and overseers. In the absence of the Supreme Judge, it exercises the judicial function for itself, while waiting in constant expectation of His return. Such is the Apostolic ideal of the Church, the gathering together of believers into a select flock, destined to receive the Redeemer on His speedy return to judge the world.

To organize within this community those fundamental relationships of life which needed to be penetrated by the Holy Spirit, such as the mutual relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and slave, the believer and the civil power—to do this in accordance with Jewish custom where that was feasible, but, at all events, in accordance with the Spirit of Christ—such was the task assigned to Peter, as we learn more especially from the longer of his two general Epistles. Peter died the death of a confessor in the metropolis of the world, before that era when the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple had given the Christians a clearer insight

into the meaning of Christ's words respecting the end of the world. But Peter's view of the world, and the predominant type which he impressed on the Church as a legislative and judicial institution and unity, was the first which struck root in the earthly unfolding of Christianity.

In the second series of development—that of *Faith*—the root-idea was that the life which was destined to spring up on the soil of the Christian Churches must above all occupy itself with the culture of the inward, personal dispositions of the heart; that the Christian life consists in this inward attitude of mind, not in any outward acts as such, whether they be acts of worship or deeds of love and mercy. Now, to implant this faith was the special vocation of Paul. This root-idea he worked out in its bearings on the circumstances and requirements of the infant Churches of his own day, in such a spirit of universality, that in his writings the eternal Idea of Christ stands revealed in clear and intelligible outlines, the model and exemplar to all mankind for all ages. In the eyes of this great Apostle of the Gentiles, the written and unwritten Law were not only alike in worth compared to the Gospel; but on his thorny path he came to perceive ever more and more clearly that the true soil on which the message of eternal love was destined to bring forth fruit, was the Gentile tribes and nations; not the Jewish people, fettered as they were by a ritual law, which drew a sharp line of demarcation between them and the rest of mankind, and made fusion with other peoples repugnant to their feelings. The Gentiles were not hampered by any legal restrictions; their moral enfranchisement was not impeded by any priesthood claiming a sway over their intellects, or obstructed by any ordinances claiming the authority of divine enactment; their intuitive religion was uncorrupted by any national religious pride, but amounted to little more than a cosmopolitanized sense of the dignity of man. They cherished a craving for the emancipation

of the mind, and had faith in human nature. The foremost rank among them was held by the children of the intellect, the Hellenes, and next after them came the earnest-minded Romans, with their devotion to practical affairs; but the barbarians, too, were not excluded from his view. All the more touching is the loyal affection which Paul bears towards the Jews to whom he belonged (though not a Palestinian, but a Cilician), and to whom he clung with passionate attachment. With the eyes of his love he beheld in spirit the future conversion of the Jews and the perfected union of the two separated families of God's children into one household of faith. But this was only to take place after protracted conflicts, of which his prophetic mind discerned the approach in the days to come. With the present circumstances that lay around him, he dealt under the guidance of his governing principle; namely *Faith*—or the voluntary, inward turning of the heart to the doctrine and practice of the Gospel. From within outwards must Christianity make its way through the world; but in this mode, it was destined to bring about the abolition of slavery and the singleness of wedlock. He foresaw that monogamy, and a stringent marriage-bond, dissoluble only by death (physical or spiritual), must of necessity evolve itself out of the doctrine of the Christian dignity of woman. Not until this had taken place, could Christ's doctrine of the equality of man and woman before God, and of the sacred oneness of the wedded pair, be understood in its spiritual meaning. But as yet, neither the Gentile nor even the Jewish wife had vindicated her claim to an equal and independent moral personality. Still, whoever desired to take upon himself the office of an elder, was bound to live in accordance with the spirit of Christ's teachings. In the same way, Paul likewise regarded the abolition of *slavery* as a consequence of the redemption effected by Christ's death. Jesus had called and consecrated all His brethren unto liberty. But it was needful that the slaves should first be

made inwardly free from sin, and set before themselves a higher goal than mere external freedom. The grandest feature of all is that, to Paul, no less than to Peter, this progressive process of the sanctification of the whole human race was quite independent of their particular views respecting the nearness or remoteness of the end of the world. Christ will come, and will come as the Judge of the world; that is enough. Wherefore sanctify yourselves, and transform all things (so sounds the admonition of St. Paul) that it stands within your power to change, after the pattern of the incarnation of God in Christ Jesus. Where he refers to the prevailing belief in the speedy end of the world, he simply expresses his own personal anticipations; this point was not one which lay very close either to his heart or his vocation.

But, shortly after the death of Peter and Paul, the Apostle of *Love* dived very deeply into the contemplation of the future. In the midst of persecution, and on the eve of the fall of Jerusalem, the seer of the Apocalypse beheld in a vision how the kingdoms of this world, especially the Roman empire, from being an empire of violence and tyranny, of selfishness and injustice, of hatred and envy, should and would be transformed into a kingdom of God upon earth, of which love should be the foundation, and in love should be liberty.

When, three centuries ago, the noblest minds and peoples of Europe were yearning after a more spiritual and inward Christianity, purified from priestly usurpation, and turning again to the free Gospel and personal converse with the Saviour, Paul became to them, in their efforts to reform the organization of the Church, the Apostle of *Faith*, and assumed the paramount place in their eyes as the expounder of Christ's Gospel and the guide of the Church. But now it is St. John who proclaims himself to all hearts as the Apostle of our own age, the Apostle of *Love* for the Church which stands steadfast in faith towards the Saviour. Whereas the Re-

formation proposed to itself no aim beyond that of the emancipation of the mind from priestly tyranny by means of faith; now-a-days it is the idea of the millennial era in which Christ shall reign supreme over political and social institutions that appeals to the heart of Humanity.

A sober exposition of the Book of Revelations, taken in connection with the Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John, will show us that the wide-spread persuasion that this kingdom has a direct concern with us and our children is in its essence based on no delusion. For what is the essence of this persuasion? In world-historical language the Apocalypse places before us the command, and proclaims it to be the irrevocable law of the world's order, that the whole social and political life of the Christian community should transform itself into liberty on the basis of the freely-rendered service of brotherly love. To a certain extent this has been done; that is to say, in the course of the last 300 years a mighty step has once again been made towards the initiation of such a change. But if we can perceive some partial fulfilment of this prophecy to be true of the past, there still remains a vast future concealed within this vision, a divine warning for the one side, a heavenly consolation for the other. Those nations and States which confess the Gospel with their lips, but tread it under foot with their actions, will perish in a speedily-approaching overturning of the present order of things, a catastrophe as far surpassing that of the Roman empire in its awfulness as it does in its conscious guilt.

This Book was the firstling of the Apostle's belief in the presence of God in history. But John survived the destruction of Jerusalem, which, according to the current belief of the Apostolic Churches, was to be the first judgment-day of Christ, and the sign of His second coming. The mother-Church in Jerusalem, composed almost exclusively of Jewish Christians, forfeited its influence through the conquest of that city; under Hadrian it entirely

ceased to exist. Antioch with its Church from the first consisting to a large extent of Aryans, took the foremost place as the exponent of the Christian consciousness. Now, while in consequence of these events the Aryan mind was thus acquiring predominance in Asia Minor, Greece and Rome, the destruction of Jerusalem kindled up a belief in the protracted duration of that divine order of the world on this earth which the Seer of the Apocalypse had beheld in his mysterious vision. This belief supplied an incentive to mould the new social order that was to arise on our earth, after the pattern of, and in harmony with, the spirit of the Redeemer. It was with this aim, that shortly before his death, St. John undertook the task of supplementing and correcting the Gospels composed by the "Evangelists" or earliest apostolic missionaries, which had become by this time the common property of the Churches. For this object, he not only drew up an historical outline of the life of Jesus during the period of His public ministry, and delivered it to the custody of the elders of the Churches of Asia Minor, but also bequeathed to them and to all churches and ages the more profound discourses of the Divine Teacher, which had not been contained in those earlier Gospels, intended as they were in the first place to form the text-book of instructions for the catechumens.

When, soon after this date, about the end of the first century, John died at Ephesus, the Churches, especially the already predominant Aryan element in them, were completely left to the guidance of the Spirit working in persons who had neither seen nor heard Jesus Himself. Thus it may be said that the independent life of the Churches begins with the opening of the second Christian century, as the independent life of the Apostles begins with the return of their Master to His Heavenly Father.

The exclusively Jewish Churches of the Christians of Palestine died out, owing to their severing themselves, under the title of Nazarenes, from the main stream of

historical Christianity. The Jewish-Christian Church of Jerusalem was replaced in the new city of Ælia Capitolina by a Church of Gentile-Christians, with a Gentile Christian—Marcus—for its first bishop. The historian Sulpicius Severus (whom we have before had occasion to quote), when speaking of the edict by which Hadrian, after the insurrection of Barcochba, forbade all Jews to reside in Jerusalem, after saying that this prohibition was extended to the Church under St. James, utters these memorable words, pregnant with a truth of universal history * :—"This befel the Christian religion, because at that time nearly all (the Christians of Judæa) believed in Christ and in God in subordination to the observance of the Law. That is to say, events were so ordered, under Divine Providence, to the end that servitude under the Law should be superseded by the freedom of the faith and the Church."

This profound saying is true of all the Jewish-Christian communities. Beyond those planters and nurses of the Christian consciousness who are mentioned in the New Testament, we hear of no Jewish-Christian personage of any eminence either in the first, second, or third centuries. The Aryan mind, fertilized by the Semitic knowledge of God as the Eternal, and the faith in His Redeeming Manifestation in human nature, and gifted with the full sense of the sanctifying presence of God the Holy Ghost in His Church, enters on the arena of the world's history amid sanguinary struggles, yet concealing unsuspected energies.

* *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 31.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH OF THE ARYANS DURING THE EPOCH OF PERSECUTION.

For more than two full centuries was the Christian community in the Roman Empire a victim of persecution, and as such the Holy Sacrificial Church of God. For it was the representative of those iniquitously scorned, yet inalienable rights of Humanity,—freedom of conscience and freedom openly to proclaim its verdicts, in opposition to the all-powerful foe of those rights—Cæsarism. After the overthrow of the Jewish hierarchy, the Roman Imperialism—the universal heir of all other powers and all popular rights—had set itself up as God upon the Earth, and founded the first great European State resting on the military and the police, while bearing on its forehead the lie of the legal sanction conferred by free forms of government, and in its hand the sword of violence. Why did the Christians refuse to bow the knee before the gods of this earthly sphere? Why should they object to burn a few grains of incense before the image of the Emperor? The blood of the confessors, the steadfast—nay, joyful—death of witnesses to the Holy Ghost, like Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna, displayed to the churches and the world, the "victory that overcometh the world," even our faith. Humanity began once more to feel some self-respect. Women and slaves put to shame senators and judges.

We shall now endeavour to show what was the historical import of that conception of God's agency in the world, which developed itself amidst these conflicts, and

embodied itself in the internal organization of the life of the Church; arranging our remarks in the following order:—In the first place, we shall have to contemplate the rudiments it evolved for the reconstruction of a morally free political society in a Christendom of legally established self-government. Next, the transformation of the conception of prayer, with that of the true nature of worship resulting therefrom; and, lastly, the dawning manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the written word, or the utterances of Christian prophecy during the second and third centuries. While the two former of these courses of development are predominantly Aryan, the latter is exclusively so.

The sense of the Divine Order in the sphere of Government exhibited itself from the very outset in the rejection of the idea of any Kalifate, or primacy in the Church which should be hereditary in the family of Jesus, with Jerusalem for its Holy City. Two of the brothers of Jesus—James and Jude—had succeeded each other in the Church of Jerusalem, and the successor of the latter likewise appears to have been another of his brethren. The total destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian put an end to this Jewish line; indeed it altogether set aside that narrow theory of the Christian religion which regarded it as a reformed Judaism retaining the old legal restrictions and burdensome ritual obligations. Had this theory been victorious, Christianity would have perished with Jerusalem, or have dragged on a miserable existence in the shape of a Jewish sect, admitting the rest of mankind only to the rank of "Proselytes of righteousness." That this repudiation of all unspiritual Semitic forms was not accidental, but flowed from the inmost life of the Divine society, is proved by the organization which developed itself, as by a Divine impulse, within the Christian Churches, and ere long expanded itself over the whole world.

For, beyond the precincts of Palestine, notwithstanding

outward diversities, the unity of religious feeling had from the very beginning everywhere embodied itself in one uniform type for the universal Christian society, starting originally from Antioch, the real capital of Asia; a type derived, on the one side, from the organization of the synagogues, and on the other from that of the free Greek municipalities. A senate of "Elders" administered the affairs of the Church, assisted by the deacons in the care of the poor and sick; but no legislative enactment could be made without the assent of the "brethren." Just as we see to have been the case with the Apostolic Council held in Jerusalem, in which "the Holy Ghost" makes known His will by the vote of the entire assembly, "the whole Church."[1] The spirit of Christianity remained unwarped by the later intrigues of the retrograde Judaizing Christians, or by the wavering of Peter and the tacit resistance of James. Already in the days of St. John, towards the close of the first century, the necessity had become apparent of having a responsible leader at the head of the Christian community in each city, to whom they gave the usual Greek appellation for an administrative functionary, *Episcopus*—equivalent to "Superintendent" or "Overseer." Thus, in the case of most of the Churches named in history, we find Bishops at their head during the first half of the second century; but with the Elders by their side, and with a full recognition of the supremacy vested in the whole congregation of the brethren. This order was conformable to that saying of our Lord, which we have already had occasion to quote:—

"But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall

[1] Acts xv. 22.

be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." [1]

Hence the verdicts of acquittal or condemnation pronounced by the legally constituted Church in the name of God will be framed by the Spirit of God, and prove to be correct. It was in this sense that the Church understood and put in practice the real import of that saying about the power of the keys, and this expresses the religious consciousness of the apostolic age.

Thus, the elements of the perfect State were identical with those which the greatest philosopher of antiquity had suggested for the improvement of the democratic or aristocratic republic, and for its defence against despotism, at the same time not concealing from himself that such a combination was something rather to be wished than hoped for. The Bishops of antiquity are the model and forerunners of the Teutonic ideal of monarchy, which in England has succeeded in establishing itself as one of the great empires of the world, viz.:—a kingly function free within its own sphere, but standing in the midst of a social corporation of which it is one member.

On this view, the Church may be appropriately conceived of as a "mother;" just as the chief city of a political community is called among the Greeks a "metropolis," or "mother-city." But by that word is meant the Spirit of God which resides in that community. In the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, the word for Spirit is feminine, and this is why, in the Gospel for the Hebrews, which was composed in the vernacular tongue of Jesus and His disciples, Christ calls this Spirit His "mother." [2] By this term is denoted that Divine, eternal Force which binds the whole together, by building up the individual members and the individual churches into the unity of one Church of God. This idea enables us to explain one of the most difficult passages of the Apocalypse. [3] Who is the woman with child clothed with the

[1] Matt. xviii. 16-18. [2] Matt. xii. 50. [3] Rev. xii. 1-6.

sun, wearing the crown of the twelve stars that represent the twelve tribes, who flees into the wilderness? And who is the child that is caught up by God out of the reach of persecution? Evidently not Mary and Christ; for Christ had long ago gone home to His Father, and the fall of Jerusalem is close at hand. The mother is kept in a safe refuge during the most calamitous period. Thus, she would appear to be the Jewish community of Christians, the mother-Church for the scattered believers of the twelve tribes and those heathen converts who attached themselves to this Jewish Church. She is, in point of fact, the mother-Church of the Gentile Christians; but it is this Church of the Gentiles only that is to overcome the world. Now, the latter is the child that is caught up into heaven, "who is to rule all nations with a rod of iron." As yet it is only a child, but in its bosom is borne the full, true Christ—the Renewer of the Gentile world, Who shall prevail over the kingdoms of this world, which have already in this vision destroyed Jerusalem, and will ere long destroy it in reality.

Thus in this sense the Church is a mother, like the divine spiritual Energy which reveals itself in her. But never is the Bishop, even of the most important Church, styled "Father" (*Abbas*, *Papa*). It was felt that this would stand in the most flagrant contradiction to that express command of the Lord to His disciples to "call no man Father" upon earth.

The very idea of a liberty reposing on the sanction of law, capable of organizing a government and a civilization, involves in itself a consciousness of the Divine; for such a freedom is the goal set up by God Himself before Humanity as the only moral form of government for human societies. But this consciousness carries its divine seal yet more visibly upon its brow when the liberty striven after is directly that of the mind; when its object is the maintenance of that freedom of conscience and of worship without which Christianity, in any true sense of the

word, is deprived of the very breath of life. That the Spirit of God had, according to the promise of Christ, directed the shape thus assumed by the Church, is evinced by the fact that this type of organization maintained itself after the death of Christ's immediate disciples, notwithstanding the modifying process of development. The early Christian Church has never been without its officers; that is to say, for the purposes of government; for speaking in the Church (therefore preaching) stood open to all the brethren, while all elders or presbyters were alike qualified to celebrate the Lord's Supper, assisted by the deacons. In like manner, the reception of members into the Church was the act of the whole congregation. The baptismal vow was uttered by the candidate in person in the presence of the congregation, under direction of the Elders, and accompanied by an appeal to those members of the congregation who had known and observed the catechumen during the period of his probation, which lasted several years. The seal of his reception was his admission to the Lord's Supper. At the baptism itself, he promised to hold the faith acknowledged by the Church. The most ancient formula for which we have documentary evidence, is that used in the Church of Alexandria at this date, which, word for word, is as follows:—

"I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty:
"And in His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour:
"And in the Holy Ghost, the Giver of Life."[1]

It was not until the fifth century, that the confession of faith used in public worship, entitled "the Apostles' Creed," grew out of the gradual expansion of this earlier baptismal formula.

This picture of the Church, regarded as the visible dwelling of the Holy Ghost, is reflected for history in the arrangements for public worship. The place used for that

[1] See "Hippolytus and his Age," 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 97.

purpose was a hall; of which the most beautiful historical example is found in the *basilica*, or court, used by the ancients for popular meetings and the administration of justice, with a raised tribune for the judges at one end. Thus the type of the civil (or according to current phraseology, "the secular") community was what the spirit of the Christian people selected, and not the form of the Jewish temple. The assembly-hall of the civil community acquires a new significance in being made the sanctuary for the religious assembly. But the actual "temple of God" is no other than the believers themselves, who constitute the habitation of the Holy Ghost, the true sanctuary. At the further end of the *basilica*, in the place occupied by the judges, were seated the Elders. For the Bishop, where there was one, a raised arm-chair (Cathedra) was placed in the centre of the *apsis* or tribune.[1] From this *apsis* in which the seats stood, the preacher delivered his discourse, or, when the Lord's Supper was celebrated, from beside the communion table, a little further forward. From this station, the speaker had the whole congregation before him, and was easily seen and heard by all present. But the fact which has an abiding historical importance is, and remains, that from the temple had grown up, not simply a school (*synagogue, assembly-room*), existing subordinate to and beside the temple of Jerusalem, but an independent sanctuary, the central portion of which was occupied by the congregation, not by the priests, and in the further end of which stood no image or symbol of the Deity, veiled from sight or separated by a partition, but simply the seats of those who were the spokesmen of the community, the proclaimers of the glad tidings of God. When the sacred meal was about to commence, the members of the ministering body joined the rest of the congregation. The table used for the Lord's Supper stood in the nave of the *basilica*, between the people and the presbyters, between

[1] Cf. Bunsen, "*Die Basiliken.*"

the congregation and those who ministered to it in holy things.

Thus the present Deity of the worshipping assembly was the Spirit of God; and His embodiment or vessel was the Church, visible indeed, yet which had no personal representative. She was the Ash Ygddrasil of the Germans, "*World-bearer of the Fearful One*," divested of its Nature-symbolism, just as she was also the essence of the Ark of the Covenant in the old Tabernacle, freed from its animal-symbolism. *God, the conscious Spirit, had been made manifest in her Communion.* This was the "Real Presence" of Christ, the true "Body of the Lord." The Spirit of the Father and of the Son rested on the company of believers. Under this consciousness of the immediate presence of God in the Church, did those who had been instructed in the faith pronounce their vows. Under this consciousness did they, in their own persons, renew the vow on partaking of the Communion, by which they renounced their own will, in thankful remembrance of the redeeming freedom-conferring death of Jesus. From an evening meal, probably by the advice of Paul and through the power of the Holy Ghost, this feast had become a morning meal; and being quite separated by degrees from the *agapæ* or love-feasts, came to be a symbolical reception of bread and of wine mixed with water. With the weekly celebration of this rite on Sundays, there connected itself the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, growing out of the prayer of praise and thanksgiving which the Jewish master of the house uttered on breaking the bread, and again at the close of the meal, repeated on handing the wine around, a custom to which Christ simply imparted a more elevated and spiritual significance. But this act of thanksgiving culminated in the spiritual sacrifice, the surrender of our self-seeking, finite will, to the Divine Will. The expression of this act was, even in later times (at least up to the fifth century), an extempore prayer, which was not per-

mitted to be read. If the officiating presbyter did not possess the gift of extempore prayer before the congregation, after a pause for silent prayer, he pronounced the blessing,—*i.e.*, the Lord's Prayer, as the benediction or consecration of the congregation desiring to sanctify or consecrate—that is to say, utterly devote—themselves to the Father. To this Lord's Prayer the congregation responded with the *Doxology* or ascription of praise, which on this account, in the later MSS. of the Gospels, came to be added to the original text as the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer. In the three first petitions of this Prayer all was summed up that in the moment of pronouncing the most solemn of vows filled the soul of every worshipper:

> "Hallowed be Thy name:
> "Thy kingdom come:
> "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

In these words we have the very core of the whole Christian consciousness of God's presence and working in history! Already, in the beginning of the second century, in this congregational service a Christian hymn was sung, which can be no other than that mentioned by Pliny in the second decade of this century, in his report to Trajan. It is the so-called *Gloria* of the Western Church. The MS. of the Greek Bible in the British Museum, the Apostolic Constitutions or Liturgies of the Greek Church, and those of the Latin Church (among which it was inserted by Hilary in 380), give it in differing versions; a comparative criticism of which yields the following as the most ancient authentic text:—

> Glory be to God on high:
> *And on Earth Peace, good Will among Men.*

(Or, perhaps more primitively—

*And on Earth Peace among the Men of good Will.*)

> We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee,
> *We give thanks to Thee for Thy great Glory.*

O Lord Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty:
Lord God!
O Lord, the only-begotten Son:
*Jesus Christ,*
That takest away the Sins of the World:
*Have Mercy upon us.*
Thou that takest away the Sins of the World:
*Have Mercy upon us, receive our Prayer.*
Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father:
*Have Mercy upon us.*

For Thou only art Holy:
*Thou only art the Lord, Jesus Christ:*
To the Glory of God the Father. *Amen.*[1]

"Early in the morning they sing a hymn of praise to Christ as to a God," are the words of Pliny. In the most ancient Greek Church this Hymn is entitled "The Morning Hymn." The contents of this ascription of praise, here given in its original form, correspond entirely to the description of Pliny. Christ is, in conjunction with the Father, the object of invocation and praise. The mention of the Holy Ghost is demonstrably a later addition. He is indeed the Deity who is speaking through the mouth of the congregation, conscious of that communion of the Father and the Son. The first two verses—the angels' song of praise in the second chapter of Luke—are, as it were, the text for this more expansive Christian inspiration: the form is that of the Jewish psalmody. It is indeed a Semitic mind that has dictated this psalm.

Of equal antiquity, or at least very little younger, is the so-called *Doxology*, of which, up to the time of the Nicene Council, there were two versions in common use:—

"Glory be to the Father in the Son, through the Holy Ghost."

or

"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost."

[1] See "Hippolytus," 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 50. (Third Book of the Church and House Book.)

In these documentary formulas of the worshipping Church of the second and third centuries, there reveals itself a loyal adherence to the Unity declared in the Gospel, of the Eternal Father with the perfect finite Personality of Jesus, and with the company of the faithful which embraces the whole of believing mankind. Thus they express the most comprehensive sense of the actual guiding agency of the Divine in the human mind, according to that dualism of the Individual and the Community.

The same pure creative Spirit reveals itself also in the shaping out and arranging of the several constituents of the new *cultus* for mankind. If we attempt to give any account to ourselves of that which appertains to a sober, healthy, God-conscious mode of worship, based on the beliefs taught by Jesus, we cannot but regard that vow of thankful love as its crowning-point. The essence of the Christian life is self-surrender to the Divine will; the perpetual renewal of this thought, in grateful love, is what we need in view of the continual temptations presented by self-interest, sensuality, and the world, and the daily renewed demands which every human vocation makes upon the self-renunciation of each man who has given himself to God. But, to secure that nothing merely formal, therefore external, may ever again spring out of this, the Church will require two things;—spiritual instruction, and moral incitement. The former she will draw from the sacred history of Humanity, whose centre is the Person of Jesus, and therefore is contained in the Gospels. But, at the same time, she will not exclude the Law and the Prophets which make known to us the preparatory dispensation of God for man's salvation. Nor must there be wanting the explanation and application of the word thus handed down. Hence the expounder will also be a preacher. Like the ancient prophets, he will evoke the hidden Spirit out of the written letter, and commend it to the heart of the congregation. Lastly, the congregation will give voice to their assent and sympathy in measured, simple, rational,

and therefore beautiful forms. They have learnt from the Scriptures that God is a God of order, and that the spirits of the prophets are subject unto the prophets.

Now we find as a matter of fact all these elements combined in the most ancient order of Divine worship, and moreover occurring in the most natural arrangement; the reading of the Scriptures, the Sermon, the Vow. So long as the hymn of praise, and with it the solemn commemoration of the Lord's redeeming death, continue to be celebrated every Sunday, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving will most naturally associate itself therewith; and so it was! The prayer that accompanies each of these three parts of worship, is sometimes silent and mental, sometimes uttered aloud. The latter, again, is sometimes a responsive antiphonal prayer, in the form of the psalms, sometimes only pronounced by the presiding Elder, or the Preacher, in the name of the congregation, which answers by an "Amen!" expressive of its desires and its belief. Each of these forms has its respective place and design. All are actually found in the prayers of the persecuted Church, and with the full concurrence of the Christian consciousness, for they follow each other in the most appropriate order. Altogether prayer is by no means chiefly regarded in the light of a petition, but rather as a vow, (which is really the original signification of the Greek word) and therefore, above all, as the earnest confession of a heart filled with thankfulness, giving glory to God.

We ask in vain after the name of the earliest orderer of this solemnity; and the reason is, evidently, because the whole Church, the Collective Mind, had more to do with its construction than individuals. These were nothing more than the Church's organs.

The grandest creation in this sphere is the idea of the Sacred or Ecclesiastical Year. Already in the third century, we find this conception extant in its main features. Thus, the order of reading the Scriptures, which is based thereon, must also be referred to the very earliest epoch

of the Aryan Churches. Unfortunately in this case too, the original idea has been very imperfectly worked out by the Church of after ages; for the whole scope of its spiritual import and depth had not as yet been apprehended by the Christian mind, when it proceeded to the work of construction. We shall restrict ourselves to the pure historical facts in attempting to delineate its development.

The given centre, the core of this spiritual formation, was the festival of suffering, the Christian Feast of Passover, determined by the full moon of the first month after the vernal equinox; in the celebration of which it was naturally sometimes the day of crucifixion (the Friday), sometimes the day of resurrection (the Sunday), which the mind seized on as the chief event to be commemorated.

This festival supplied a fixed point for Whitsuntide, the commemoration of that great event when, on the fiftieth day after Easter (*Pentecost*), the Church was founded and consecrated by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Thus we have here two fixed data,—the crowning moment in the life of Christ, and the starting-point of the Church's life. The grand historical fact, marking the commencement of the public life of Christ, prior to the events commemorated at Easter, was His public consecration to the office of a teacher by means of His baptism, which is called "*Theophany*," signifying "the Manifestation of God," or "*Epiphany*," simply "the Manifestation." But the Christians knew very well from the evangelical records, that this event occurred in the beginning of our year, some months prior to the Passover season. Now, with the knowledge of these facts in the mind of the enquiring and devout community, what could be more natural than that they should devote the period preceding Easter, of about three months, chiefly to the contemplation of the sufferings of Jesus? Thus the main division of this period is that of the *teachings*, and that of the *sufferings* of Christ. For in the teachings of the earliest missionaries of the faith (*Evangelists*), the grand key-stone in the structure of their

catechetical narratives of the life of Jesus, is where the story begins of that last pilgrimage which Jesus makes from Galilee to Jerusalem, in the full consciousness of the death which awaits Him there.

As a fact, it is the period of the Passion which constitutes the key-stone in that organic structure. This gave rise to the circumstance, that the former part of those three months was more especially devoted to the contemplation of the first part of the two and a half years occupied by Christ's public ministry.

Thus, if the solar year were adopted as a figure of that Revelation which began with Christ's advent and life, about the first half of it naturally fell into the following four divisions: The season of *Epiphany*—the season of *Passion*—the season of *Easter*—the season of *Whitsuntide*.

Again, with the growing consciousness that the life of Jesus was perpetuated on this earth in the Christian society, *Whitsuntide* could not but come to be considered as the starting-point of a new period of the sacred history, extending over the principal part of the remaining half of the solar year. And with this, the whole conception of that solar symbolism would assume more and more an historical and prospective aspect. What was more natural, than that the next idea that forcibly suggested itself, and pressed for outward embodiment, was the conspicuous contrast between the struggling and the perfected Church;—the attitude of expectation and that of fruition? Nay, are not the latest discourses of Jesus before His passion, as reported by the three catechetical evangelists, filled with this topic? And this in itself involved the consequence, that at the close of the ecclesiastical year, the consummation of all things, the Last Day, or, in other words, death and eternal life, the end of all things earthly and the transition into eternity, should become the object of the contemplation of the worshipping community, regarded as the Church of the Kingdom of God among mankind.

Following previous analogies, we might naturally have

conjectured that the close of the ecclesiastical year would have been made to synchronize with the close of the civil year. But, if we trace the leading idea of the former somewhat more narrowly, we shall soon perceive that this was not possible. Christ has not severed himself from the general development of the kingdom of God, but on the contrary, recognized Himself as the fulfilment of that course of revelation which began with the creation, and afterwards was carried on for the Jews in the several epochs of Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets. Now, the books of the Old Testament were the earliest sacred Scriptures of the Christians, which they were bidden to search, and did search, as containing the initial and indicative dispensations of God in man's behalf, which were designed to prepare the way for the proclamation of the Gospel. Moreover, from the very earliest times, the united worship of the Church began with instructions drawn from God's word, which was regarded as a gift conferred on the congregation for its guidance and regulation. Hence it behoved that some season during the course of the solar year should be devoted to the contemplation of this introductory revelation. Thus arose the season of Advent, forming the close of the civil year. From very early times, we find a period, sometimes of ten, sometimes of seven, sometimes of four weeks, preceding the commencement of the New Year, with its contemplation of the life of Jesus (which originally started from the *Theophany*, or time of baptism), assigned to the contemplation of the preparatory dispensation of the Old Testament. And this gives us a distinct expression of the threefold division of the world's history, when regarded from the central point of Christ's sacrificial redeeming death, which may most simply be represented thus:—

| Season of Preparation. | Season of Christ. |
|---|---|
| (Advent.) | (Christmas to Ascension.) |

Season of the Church.

(Whitsuntide to the conclusion of the ecclesiastical year.)

This whole structural process is of abiding historical importance, for it is the actual truth and reality of that which had floated before the Semitic and Aryan Nature-religions as the great secular year symbolized in the Divine conflicts of the solar year. Surely it can be no other than the universal religion, the religion of God-conscious humanity, which can possess such a seal of world-historical consciousness? And this institution is not the fruit of reflection on the part of an individual, but has come into existence through a spontaneous act of the Spirit of Christ, as the Deity made manifest in the Church. Nor has this institution ever died out again, notwithstanding the extremely imperfect manner in which it has been worked out, and the many misunderstandings that have arisen in connection with it. ...

*Here we are in presence of a miracle, a direct exercise of creative energy on the part of the Divine Spirit; but no contradiction of natural laws. It is a history that is before us, no myth, but also no legend.*

We are now able to demonstrate that this whole process of Church development was in full course already, so early as in the first half of the second century; and with this the living substructure was completed, which was to serve as the channel for the free streams of thought that were destined to flow from the religious consciousness of the individuals who have stood forth as leaders of the Church and as prophets of her religious faith.

---

Thus are we now arrived at the second section of our account of the religious consciousness of the persecuted Church, the period immediately succeeding the age of the Apostles. But just as the Apostles were by no means the mere continuation of the life and teachings of Jesus, which are, on the contrary, a complete and finished whole in themselves, so, in like manner, the prophets of the primitive Aryan religious consciousness were by no

means the continuation of that of the Apostles and Evangelists. They rather constitute the earliest organs of that apprehension of God which had sprung up on Apostolic, therefore Hebraic, soil, and then afterwards developed itself in an Aryan atmosphere. With the Apostles, earthly realities retired into the background. Their vocation was to spread the knowledge of and bear witness to Christ—Christ the Prophet and Redeemer—Christ the risen and glorified with God—and Christ the Judge of the World. Here we have the Alpha and Omega of their preaching. Now, on the contrary, the task to be accomplished was to penetrate with this leaven the colossal mass of the Græco-Roman world, to make the facts proclaimed by the Apostles assume their proper place as the God-given basis of all mental development.

The Holy Ghost gave the Church to perceive that the Gospel was a fact and a history, not a dogma, still less a law. But He needed prophets to proclaim this. And what hitherto unknown perils beset the glorious career which opened itself before the Aryan mind on the death of the last Apostle? This Aryan mind had indeed been the prophet of the ancient world in philosophy and art. But will not the Jewish substratum of the Gospel—the idea of the Eternal One, Jehovah—be subtilized in its hands till it evaporates altogether? Will not its unacquaintance with the language of the Old Testament scriptures lead to an even worse overclouding and misconception of the contents of those books than the formalism of the Jewish Rabbis had done? Will this Aryan speculative intellect hold fast in its purity the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit, without entangling itself either in mysticism or dogmatism? And how shall it succeed in rendering the manifestation of the Eternal One under the form of a crucified Barbarian philosophically credible to Hellenes and Romans, nay, or even historically so?

*Up to this time, there had never existed among mankind any historical truth on which a religious faith could be based, nor yet any philosophic faith founded on a per-*

*sonal religious consciousness residing within man's own breast, and finding its credentials and interpretation there.* "What is truth?" asks Pilate. "What can this barbarian teach us?" exclaims the Athenian. Let us hear the answer given by the Aryan prophets of Christianity during the second and third centuries.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PROPHETS OF THE PERSECUTED CHURCH.

### I.

### *Ignatius.*

ALREADY in the earliest Aryan leader and confessor of the Church,—Ignatius, Bishop of the Church in Antioch, the capital of Asia, the mother-Church of all extra-Palestinian Christendom,—we find an extremely remarkable germ of the Aryo-Christian conception of the history of God's dealings with mankind. His Epistle to the Ephesians, in which the prophet of Antioch soars to the greatest heights of his spiritual contemplation, concludes thus:—

> My spirit boweth down before the cross, which is an offence to the unbelieving, but to us salvation and life eternal. There were hidden from the Prince of this world the virginity of Mary, and the birth and death of the Lord: three shouting mysteries *were* operated in God's quietness. From *the appearance of* the star and the manifestation thereby of the Son, every magic power disappeared, and every bond was dissolved, and the old kingdom and the ignorance of wickedness perished. From that time everything was put in commotion, because the dissolution of death was purposed, and that *began* which with God was completed.[1]

The fundamental thought of this passage may, therefore, be summed up somewhat after this fashion:—The voluntary sacrificial death of Jesus has conduced to the glorification of the mystery of the Divine order of the

[1] See "Hippolytus," i. 95.

world which the hostile power of selfishness could never have discovered; namely, that what was highest should emerge out of deepest degradation. The star which guided to Bethlehem the Magi, who were the first-born of the Gentiles, proclaims to the universe that which has been purposed and accomplished in God's eternal silence. Therewith began a new manifestation of the Divine Spirit, a new vital energy was imparted to Humanity. What had been with God resolved and fulfilled from all eternity, now began to have its temporal unrolling upon this earth. The Spirit, the moral and rational Will in unison with God, became the centre of man's consciousness of God in History.

## II.

### *Basilides and Valentinus.*

A YOUNGER contemporary of Ignatius, Basilides, an Egyptian Hellene, with his younger friend and fellow-worker in the task of founding a school of Christian philosophy (*Gnosis*), Valentinus, a Syrian Hellene, called by St. Jerome, "the man of Godlike genius," attempted to rear such a philosophy on a theory of history, which must be allowed to have man's religious consciousness for its starting-point. And to affirm that they were actually the founders of such a school would be in so far correct, that both of them started from the postulate that the universe is governed by one Law, to which all beings are subject, and that the supreme Law is Love. Basilides himself, to whom a profound fatalism is generally ascribed, declared that love must embrace all things, because all things stand to all in a certain relation—all is related to all. [1]

But as soon as we proceed beyond this point, such an assertion would be by no means justified by the docu-

[1] Clem. "Strom." iv 508. Neander, "Kirchengeschichte," I. 699.

mentary knowledge we possess concerning the personal system of these two men, a knowledge which we derive more especially from the work of Hippolytus. In the first place, they neither of them see their way to getting rid of dualism, or the strife between the Good and Evil Principles. They did not attain (Basilides especially) to a consciousness of the moral freedom of self-determination, or of the love of God displayed in the progressive unfolding of Humanity. It is in consequence of his unatoned sins in a previous state of existence, says Basilides, that sorrow and pain pursue man here on earth. So little did he understand the Divine root-idea of redemption, that he felt himself compelled to regard even the sufferings and death of Christ in the light of a punishment, although he held Him to be the Redeemer of all mankind. Secondly, the philosophical method of the Gnostics is a compound of mythologizing and dialectic paradoxes (we refer to their doctrine of the *æons*), while their method in exegesis is most arbitrary and violent. Lastly, their assumptions in the field of history betray no less ignorance and caprice than on that of physics.

Their attitude towards the Bible may be defined by two simple statements. Their pure speculation on the nature of God is an attempt to systematize the Prologue to St. John's Gospel, and their application of it to man's apprehensions of God's agency in history is a similar attempt to systematize the isolated expressions in St. Paul's writings referring to this subject. But, just as in commenting on St. John's Gospel, Basilides is unable to rise above dualism, so, in dealing with St. Paul, does he make the antagonism between the Law and the Gospel an absolute one.

No doubt, indeed, Basilides did regard the creation of man as a breaking forth of the eternal counsels of Divine love, and the history of mankind as the reflex of the gradual unfolding of the spiritual factors in the ideal

creation.[1] Moreover, both Basilides and Valentinus believed in a Divine plan of progressive light and goodness in the universe, and Basilides applied to the development of mind his maxim that:—*What exists perishes by attempting to overstep the bounds of its existence.* Doubtless, Jesus is to him the Redeemer, the manifestation in a truly human being of the Eternal Reason, the Logos; and with this manifestation does there begin a new era of the world; but Christ, the Messias of the Old Testament, is the Son of quite a different God. The God of the Law is not the God of the Gospel. Christ is the Son of the Creator of the material universe (the Demiurge). This latter is altogether blind to the Spirit, and understands nothing about the end and aim of creation, viz., the free self-determining ethical mind. His Son is, indeed, in virtue of the universal principle of progress, not so far distant as he himself is from the Spirit. This Son, the conscious Spiritual Principle of the material world, or Natural Principle, is the God who in person spoke to the Prophets, and therefore also to Moses, and equally to the Greek philosophers. Through his means his Father, the ideal of inflexible law, the Demiurge fast bound in the outward universe, is certainly taught, but not converted; he fears what he ought to love, and in love to worship; nay, in consequence of this fear, he fights against the works of the supreme God now for the first time beginning to be revealed to him.

Now, if we strip off what is in these doctrines the hull of the old Semitic Cosmogonies, there remains the proposition:—Judaism and heathenism are both alike hostile opposites of Christianity. So again Basilides does not know what to do with Abraham. Of his three eras of

[1] On the points here succinctly stated, see "Hippolytus," 2nd edit. i. pp. 108-122, especially p. 120. In this second edition of "Hippolytus" I have proved how little Baur has succeeded in refuting the assertion I had made, that in the extract given by Hippolytus we possess the sayings of Basilides himself, therefore a witness earlier than 130 A.D. [for the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John].

the world, the first, that of sin, extends up to Moses, with whose Law the second era begins. Thus he overlooks one of the essential features of the Christian theory of the world, and absolutely forgets the saying of Christ above quoted, concerning Abraham and the Prophets. In support of his own views he has nothing to allege but that passage of the Apostle Paul which he severs from its context and abridges to suit his purpose:—

> For until the law, sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.[1]

In handling which text he entirely loses sight of the doctrine, always prominently brought forward in St. Paul's writings, and notably so in this chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, viz., that Abraham had received God's promises in recompense for his faith in God's love, and that the Mosaic ordinances were merely a temporary dispensation, occupying the place of a schoolmaster between the giving of the promise to Abraham on the one hand, and its fulfilment in Christ's redemption on the other.[2]

Thus with Basilides, Ethics, or the free moral order of the world, was pushed into the background compared with speculation, or Knowledge. Not, however, in his conception of the primordial Principle; for he says expressly:

> Providence, though it be, so to speak, set in motion by the Archon (the Prince of this world), yet has been implanted in the nature of things from the very origin by the God of the whole universe.[3]

In so far, we must certainly agree with Neander,[4] that it

[1] Rom. v. 13, 14. [2] Rom. v. 20, 21.

[3] Clem. "Strom." iv. 509. Neander, "Kirchengeschichte," I. s. 700.

[4] See "Kirchengeschichte," I. s. 702. The passage to which no doubt Neander refers, when he ascribes those noble words to Basilides, is to be found (in substance) in the *Stromata*, v. 583, where it says that Moses in erecting *one* temple only, proclaimed thereby that the universe belonged to God, and moreover to His only Son (the *Monogenes*, Only-begotten).

was the aim of Basilides to bring men to a consciousness of the unity of God's revelations in Nature and in History, so that, according to his own words, "we should regard the One Universe as the One Temple of God." But in actual life, Basilides felt too keenly the pressure of the sway exercised by the Prince of this world, for his mind to admit an illuminating and warming ray from that light, at least as regards the life of the individual or the Church. This was the curse of that age, above which none but the simple-minded Christians, and a few elect spirits, were able to rise in hope! Still, however, in reference to these difficulties, faith appeared to him the highest attitude of mind, and he did not hesitate to say: "The martyr's sufferings were so sweetened to him by this faith, that it was as though he did not suffer."

Thus we see that Christ and Christianity were an historical reality to him, although he was unable to rise above the view that regards the Divine and the Human as mutual exclusives. But that with the advent of the historical Jesus, the pure Son of Man, a Creative Personality, an entirely new, original, therefore Divine, Principle of Life was introduced into the history of this our world, we may affirm to be the second bright point in his system.

All that we have said of Basilides holds good also of Valentinus, who fixed on yet deeper and firmer foundations the conception of the gradual redemption of the creature. To use Neander's fine expression: "redemption is to him an historical fact of world-wide import."[1] In his writings, too, the fancies relating to the Æons (the fantastic lucubrations about which we now know, on documentary evidence, are to be ascribed to his school and not to himself) were simply a type or reflex "of the drama of the human mind which is enacted in the world of spirits."[2] And further, the consolatory idea of a final victory of the Divine principle of Love in the world's history stands out quite clearly to his mind. The Demiurge himself at last

[1] Neander, i. 738.

[2] See "Hippolytus," i. 137.

comes to perceive that he has been, and is still, accomplishing the work of the Supreme God without knowing it, nay, without even suspecting it.[1] In this respect, the teaching of Valentinus has undoubtedly for the evangelical theologian, no less than for the historian and philosopher, an incomparably higher worth than the doctrine taught by many ancient and modern divines, who treat the Devil as though he were a sort of divine police kept for the terror of evil-doers; and, albeit unwittingly, seem to take for granted that it is not God, but the Devil, who really governs the world. The truly evangelical and philosophic thought of Valentinus is finely expressed in a passage preserved by Clemens.[2] Valentinus in one of his sermons thus addresses the "spiritual" (in contradistinction to the "sensual" or "psychical") men:

Ye are immortal from the very beginning, children of eternal life; ye have resolved to taste death by the sacrifice of yourselves, in order that ye may swallow up and annihilate death. For whereas ye are preparing the dissolution of this world of matter, and yet are not subject yourselves to dissolution, do ye become the lords of creation and of all things transitory.

But the spiritual life consists in sanctification; the Spirit's work in the hearts of the spiritually minded. And to this their mode of worship also is conformable, wherefore it bears the name of, and is, in truth, "the reasonable service." Until this sanctifying operation of the Spirit has begun, that holds good of a man which our author says in another place:[3]

The heart is an uncleansed habitation of the evil spirits who deform the soul, until it is touched by Him Who has loved it. But when the Father, who alone is good, rules therein, then

[1] See "Hippolytus," 2nd ed. pp. 138–162. [I cannot refrain from expressing my hope that my readers will, if able, peruse for themselves the interesting dissertation here referred to.—Tr.]

[2] Clem. "Strom." iv. 13 (p. 218, Pott's edition).

[3] Clem. "Strom." ii. 409.

is it purified and radiant with inward light; and hence does our Lord say: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Thus the source of the purifying power is in the new personal moral communion with the Redeemer. Through this continuous work of the Redeemer, does He who is alone good, the Father, reveal Himself.

*Theodotus*, the most gifted scholar of Valentinus, succeeds in liberating his mind from the shackles of dualism. In my "*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*"[1] I have proved that we possess in extracts given by Clemens of Alexandria, fragments of a work by this great thinker, written about 170 or 180 A.D. In one of these fragments he says:

> The man who is not redeemed and regenerate stands under the power of Fate (εἱμαρμένη, *Fatum*), and therefore under the power of the conflicting forces of Nature, which, embodied in the stars, act upon us. From this strife and struggle the Lord delivers us and gives us peace. This was what was signified by the new Star which appeared at the birth of our Lord, and shining with a new splendour, dissolved the old influences of the heavenly bodies. He Himself, the Lord, is our pole-star; He who descended upon earth that He might transfer those who believe in Christ from the realm of *Destiny* into that of His own *Providence*.

Thus did the first attempt at a Christian philosophy of the world's order, in the hands of the pupil of Valentinus issue in a return to historical, evangelical, apostolic Christianity. The school perished through its errors and its deficiency in Church feeling. But Clemens devoted his efforts to rescue the golden seeds of knowledge which those men had scattered abroad. The deepest thoughts of both Clemens and Origen owe their original suggestion to this source. Still the school ended with Origen, and in the following century the bloom of this first Christian consciousness of God in History passed away altogether.

But almost contemporary with Valentinus, only about

[1] Vol. i. pp. 203–287. See especially, §§ 69–85, pp. 268–277.

a decade later, we come upon two remarkable prophetic books of Christian speculation on the world's order belonging to a very different class. These are the "*Epistle to Diognetus*," and "*The Shepherd of Hermas*."

## III.

### *The Epistle to Diognetus.*

THIS fragment—for the conclusion of the letter probably belongs to a later work—stands in certain aspects without a rival in the religious literature of the second century, by reason of its singular freshness, and the intensity, rising almost to passion under the heat of controversy, of the Author's belief in the new, independent manifestation, given through Christianity, of God's eternal counsels of love, in the history, not of this or that people, not of this or that age, but of all mankind in all ages.

Since the insurrection of the Jews and the war of Barchochba under Hadrian, form the horizon of this Epistle, we are led to refer its date to some year between 133 and 139 A.D. Already in those years, Diognetus, as we learn from the Emperor's own "*Meditations*," was conducting the general and philosophical education of Marcus Aurelius, who was fourteen years of age at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in 135 A.D. The following passages are those which more especially bear witness to the religious consciousness of the author, who was probably the youthful Marcion, whom we know to have been at that time residing in Rome.[1] After showing that though the Jewish worship was indeed addressed to the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, it was in other respects as external in its character as that of the Gentiles, he passes on, in the fifth and sixth chapters, to a description of the Christians:

[1] See "Hippolytus," 2nd ed. i. p. 170, where the author gives his reason for assigning the authorship of this Epistle to Marcion.—TR.

They dwell in their own fatherland, but as strangers. They take part in everything as citizens, and they have to bear everything as if they were foreigners. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country to them. *They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh.* They pass their time on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, and by their own lives gain a victory over the laws. They love all, and yet are persecuted by all. They are taken no notice of, and they are condemned: they are put to death, and they come to life again: they are poor themselves, and yet make many rich: they lack everything, and yet they abound in all things: they are put to shame, and yet they glory in their shame: they are evil spoken of, and yet they are justified: they are reviled, and they bless: they are insulted, and they show honour: they do good, and yet they are punished as evil-doers: they rejoice in punishment, as being thereby quickened: the Jews make war upon them as foreigners, and the Greeks persecute them: and yet they that hate them can give no reason for their enmity.

Here Tacitus has his answer; his doubts have received their solution from facts, and found it, moreover, precisely in the quarter where he did not seek it! It is the self-respect of redeemed mankind, who feel themselves happy in the hardest times, and free under bloody tyranny, because resolved to die as God's children in behalf of their own dignity, faith, and honour. Soon will those very States go over to their side which now persecute them as aliens and bad patriots! And then our author proceeds in Chapter VI.:

In short, what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all the members of the body, and so are Christians through all the cities of the world. Now the soul liveth in the body, yet is she not of the body: and so do Christians live in the world, yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is preserved in a visible body, and so Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remaineth unseen. The flesh hateth the soul, and warreth against her, without receiving any injury; for the soul

preventeth her from indulging in pleasures; so the world hateth Christians, yet is no way injured; for they are opposed to pleasures. The soul loveth the flesh and its members that hate her: and so do Christians love those who hate them. The soul is shut in by the body, yet she upholdeth the body: and so are Christians kept, as it were, in prison, by the world, yet they uphold the world. The undying soul dwelleth in a mortal tabernacle: and so do Christians dwell by the side of that which is perishable, while they wait for immortality in heaven. The soul is made better the more she is maltreated by the withholding of food and drink: and Christians, the more they suffer punishment, the more do they from day to day increase in numbers.

If we revert to the general ground of this belief, we find it to be the fruit of the higher life implanted in Humanity by Christ. The actual world around is still lying under the sway of tyrants, the oppressors of conscience; but the Church is certain of her victory, for her children are alike prepared to live in every relationship for the confession of the faith that maketh free, or at any moment to die for it. Now, from the very nature of the religious consciousness, such as we have found it to be hitherto, this faith and this courage unto death cannot but rest on a sense of the direct contact of the Divine with human nature, on a belief in our sonship to the Father in heaven, the God of eternal love and true freedom. And where is this sentiment more finely expressed than in the following passage?

For, as I said before, theirs is no earthly invention handed down to them, nor is that a mortal doctrine which they hold worthy of Him, so diligently preserved; nor is it a dispensation of human mysteries which is entrusted to them: but God, the Ruler and Creator of all things, the Invisible, hath Himself from heaven planted in men the truth and the holy incomprehensible Word, and hath established Him in their hearts. He sent Him not (as one might suppose) as a servant, or as an angel, or as a ruler, or as one engaged in earthly affairs, or as one

entrusted with the care of things in heaven; but God sent the very Artificer and Creator of the Universe—Him, The Word, by whom He made the heavens, by whom He enclosed the sea within its due bounds—Him, whose mysterious laws are faithfully kept by all the starry signs—Him, from whom the sun hath received the measures of his daily course, duly to keep them—Him, at whose command the moon shineth in the night—Him, whom the stars obey. This is He whom God sent unto them. Was it, as some one among men might suppose, to tyrannize over and to terrify mankind? No, indeed: but in mercy and gentleness, as a king would send his son, so He sent Him as a King: He sent Him as God: He sent Him as man to men: He sent Him to save, to persuade, not to force them: for violence is no attribute of God: He sent Him as wishing to call, not to persecute: He sent Him in love, not for judgment: for He will send Him to judge, and who will then be able to stand in the day of His coming?

Christ is the Eternal Word that in Him took upon itself human nature. But this Word is implanted in the human heart, and hence the doctrine of Christ is the religion of Humanity, destined to bless this earth, and raise it from an empire of selfishness into a Kingdom of God. Lastly, this Epistle expresses further a consciousness of the laws of such a progressive divinization, spiritualizing, enfranchisement, redemption of the world, which raises it to the rank of permanent historical importance:—

For God, the Lord and Ruler of the Universe, who made all things, and set them in order, showed Himself not only loving to man, but also long-suffering. For He was ever such, and is, and will be: kind, and good, and passionless, and true: and He alone is good: and He conceived in His mind a great and unspeakable thought, which He communicated to His Son. Now, as long as He kept back His wise counsel, and preserved it as a mystery, He appeared not to think or care about us. . . . .

Now, when He had by Himself, together with His Son, set everything in order, He left us during the time past to be carried about, as we willed, by our unruly impulses, led away, as we were, by pleasures and desires: not in any way as if He took

delight in our sins, but as one who bore with them: nor as one who approved of that season of unrighteousness, but as one who was fashioning the time of righteousness: so that, having by our own work in former times proved ourselves unworthy of life, we might now, through the goodness of God, be made worthy of it: and as we had shown our inability to enter into the kingdom of God by our own strength, we might be enabled so to do by the power of God. But when the measure of our own unrighteousness was filled up, and it had been fully shown that punishment and death were entailed on it as its reward, and the time came which God had fore-ordained to show forth His own goodness and power (oh! the exceeding love of God for man!), He did not hate us, or cast us off, or remember the evil against us, but He bore long with us and suffered us, and out of pity took our offences upon Him: He Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy for transgressors—Him that was without evil for sinners—the Just for the unjust—the Imperishable for perishable men—the Immortal for mortals. To Him should we raise our eyes, and throw off from us all our earthly cares.[1]

In conclusion, the inspired Christian Hellene indulges in the hope that Diognetus may be led to long after this faith and to attain to the knowledge of God, who is the Eternal Love:—

For (he adds) when thou lovest Him, thou wilt become a follower of His goodness. And marvel not at this, that man may become a follower of God. He can if he will. For happiness consisteth not in lording it over our neighbours, or in desiring to have more than the weaker brethren, or in being rich and oppressing the poor. Nor can man, in so doing, be a follower of God; for such things are entirely foreign to His majesty. But whosoever beareth the burden of his neighbour—whosoever is ready to do good with that wherein he aboundeth to another who is in want—whosoever, by distributing to the needy the things which he hath received from God, becometh a god to those who receive them—this man is a follower of God. Then shalt thou behold, though thou be living on earth, that God reigneth in Heaven; then shalt thou begin to speak the

[1] Cap. viii. 9.

mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those who are suffering punishment because they will not deny God: then shalt thou condemn the impostures and errors of the world, when thou hast known how to live truly in Heaven—when thou canst despise that which appeareth to be death here—when thou dreadest that which really is death, a death which is kept in store for those who will be condemned to that eternal fire, which will torment them whom it receiveth until the end. Then shalt thou admire those who can bear patiently the [torments of] earthly fire, and bless them when thou thyself hast tasted that fire.

So thought, so believed, so wrote an enthusiastic, probably still youthful, Christian, with the design of converting the Platonic Stoic, and of dissuading his pupil, Marcus Aurelius (who had been adopted as a son by Marcus Antoninus in 139 A.D., soon after the accession of the latter), from the unjust, impious, and fruitless course of persecuting the Christians.

Who does not recognize in such a writing as this the unexampled flight which the religious consciousness of Humanity has taken from the cross at Golgotha! Not only does our author soar far above Judaism and Hellenism, but also beyond the highest flights of Buddhism. God's kingdom shall come upon earth, because men are God's children, His Spirit dwells in them, a Spirit that will effect the gradual divinization of the world, through the implantation of Divine liberty and love. The seal and token of this liberty is self-renunciation; devotion to the brethren, forasmuch as they are God's children, and vessels of the Holy Ghost. The only certain evidence of this love towards God is self-sacrificing love for the brethren. The proof of the contrary, the badge of enmity to God, is persecution, oppression of the conscience; for all constraint is foreign to the very essence of God.

Such a Spirit is even now living and working and bringing forth its fruits in the hearts of men, from the Euxine to Rome, from Alexandria to Athens. Can this

be the result of chance? Or can we account for it simply by the decay of the heathen religions? Does it not manifestly presuppose an eternal causality, resting upon the laws of that Kosmos of which a perception is implanted within our souls?

## IV.

### *Hermas and his Work, "The Shepherd."*

THE inspired voice of the philosophic champion of the persecuted Christian community, to which we have been listening, died into silence without leaving a trace of its effects. While very inferior—nay, positively jejune—apologies are mentioned with commendation, Eusebius and the other Christian historians are totally silent about the "Epistle to Diognetus." And yet it had flowed from a pious heart, and was in thorough unison with the mind of the Church, as is proved by the whole history of that age. The only thing that can account for this would be some breach occurring at a later date between its author and the Church. Now, such a breach do we find in Marcion's going over to the school of Valentinus, which was not in communion with the body of the Church.

On the first glance it may appear no less enigmatical how the earliest Christian work of fiction, "*The Shepherd*" of Hermas (written by the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, about the year 139), should, on the contrary, have obtained so high a reputation in the Christian communities of the Greek and Roman world that it was even read in the assemblies of the congregation as "Scripture," that it was called by Clement "a divinely inspired book," and that at the Council of Nicæa both parties appealed to its testimony in behalf of their doctrines. On a closer investigation, however, of the conflicting tendencies of that age, and of the contents of this work, this riddle becomes very easy of solution. This apparently insignificant book came in answer to one of the deeply felt needs of the Christians at that date, viz., to receive some

prophetic word of interpretation respecting the future of the Church and the world, which should give adequate expression to the sentiment of the laity among the Hellenic Christians. Hermas forsakes the Apocalyptic style adopted by previous writers in imitation of St. John's Revelation, and selects in preference the free style of fiction, although retaining the form of a vision. It is very remarkable that the author has performed his task with the same religious respect for the historical individuality of his personages that Dante exhibits nearly twelve centuries later; and, moreover, we do not scruple to say, reveals not only an equal intensity of religious belief, but a far greater hopefulness for the future; therefore really a much stronger faith in the victory of the true world-transforming Christianity than was possessed by the great mediæval Florentine. Both present us with a picture of the inward history of the soul—of its awakening from selfishness and the mad pursuit of sensual pleasure to faith in the Divine redeeming love, and of the passage through a purifying state of suffering to the blessedness of peace; both depict these changes as taking place after the close of the earthly life. But while the prophet of the Middle Ages nowhere expresses any hope for the earthly life of Christendom, for the existing ecclesiastical form of God's kingdom, but, on the contrary, transfers all blessedness and all just retribution to the future world, Hermas, in the very midst of persecution—nay, on the very eve of a new persecution, which he sees to be impending—with the eye of his spirit gazes with rapture on the magnificent expansion of the kingdom of God that was destined to replace the moribund vitality of the Greek and Roman world. This is the main feature to which we must here limit our remarks.[1]

Hermas is not the name of the author, but of the hero of the tale. He is supposed to be the Roman friend mentioned by St. Paul, and the scene of the story is laid

[1] "Hipp." 2nd ed. i. pp. 181–215.

in Rome under Bishop Clemens; therefore, in the age when a pupil of the Apostle of the Gentiles would be still living. This Hermas, by whom the book professes to be written (indeed, it was regarded by many as the work of a contemporary and friend of the Apostles), is in the story a merchant, a highly respected elder of the Roman Church, unhappily married to an unbelieving wife, and in the dealings of ordinary life not much more conscientious than his ungodly sons. In sheer despair he neglects his family. One day, when he is taking a walk by the Tiber, he sees a maiden fall from the bathing-house into the river. He saves her from drowning; but how great is his astonishment to discover in her a play-fellow of his youth, a household slave belonging to his father. She is as pious as she is beautiful; he cultivates her acquaintance, and his admiration of her person and of her Christian gentleness is at certain moments nigh to becoming a love of concupiscence. One day, walking in a lonely place, he falls asleep meditating on her charms, when, lo! he finds himself transported in spirit to a rocky, desolate spot, surrounded by precipices (like the place described in the opening of Dante's poem). From thence he comes to a plain, and his thoughts ascend to God in prayer. All at once there appears unto him the spirit of that beautiful maiden, who has meanwhile been called home to the Father. She tells him how she has been summoned thither to lay his sinful thoughts before the Lord, and proceeds to open his eyes to the inward impurity he had been guilty of, notwithstanding his entire abstinence from any outward expression of it. Hardly has she left him, when there appears unto him a venerable matron, who admonishes him, but also administers encouragement. Hermas treasures up all these things in his heart.

Some time after, the matron appears to him again, and gives him a little book, couched in precepts and parables, to read for his consolation and confirmation in the faith.

When she disappears, an angelic youth explains to him that—

"She was not, as he had supposed, the Sibyl, but *the Church*; that is to say, the Spirit of the Communion of God's elect from the beginning of the world. That she had appeared in the shape of an aged matron, because she is the first of God's creatures, and on her account the world was created."

Thus we see that she is the Divine Spirit of Humanity. Afterwards she shows him a great tower which is being erected upon a rock, that rises out of the waters, towering high above the earth. This tower is composed of shining stones cut four-square. The six first-born of the angels are presiding over its construction. This tower signifies the company of all the faithful, and the completion of the building is the future of the world.

Now, after he has thoroughly mastered the "*Precepts*" contained in the little book before mentioned (twelve new commands of Christian love), and come to understand the "*Similitudes*" (parables of the inward life), he is carried by an angel to the top of a high mountain in Arcadia. Here the interpretation of his visions is vouchsafed to him, beginning thus:—

"I will now show and explain unto thee fully what that Spirit showed thee who appeared to thee under the figure of the Church. That Spirit is the Son of God. Thou couldst not at that time bear His sight. Now I will announce to thee His own explanation. Thou hast been well shown the building of the tower, but as by a virgin. Now thou shalt see all."

Hermas now beholds how that tower upon the rock rises out of a plain surrounded by twelve hills, representing the twelve known peoples and States of the world. The rock itself is of immense antiquity, but a new door has been hewn out in it on its front side. Twelve virgins, representing the virtues, guard the door and corners of the tower. Meanwhile he watches the progress of the building. Those six angels cause great square blocks of stone, without a flaw, to be brought up out of the deep,

and the virgins receive these and hand them through the door to the builders. After the ten corner-stones, representing the ten patriarchs, come a hundred stones, of which the first twenty-five represent the righteous men mentioned in the Bible between Noah and Moses; the next thirty-five correspond to the books of the Old Testament, and after these, forty, a number which, curiously enough, almost exactly corresponds to the number of pious and holy men who are named besides the twelve Apostles in the books of the New Testament. Thus the first ten and these hundred stones would appear to represent: first, the primitive world—the Abrahamitic era of the world previous to the Law—next, the epoch of the Law and the prophets; and lastly, the elect souls of the Church founded by Christ and His Apostles. The last forty imprint upon the souls of their predecessors the seal of Christ, without which they cannot be saved.

Now, when the Son of God, the Lord Himself, appears to survey and examine the work so far as it has yet proceeded, behold, at the touch of His rod, there discover themselves dark, nay, black, spots in several of the stones; and it appears that there are many among them which have not been brought into the building by those virgins. After a process of purification the spots disappear in some; but all which remain black are taken out of the wall again, and the Lord issues orders no longer to fetch the stones out of the surrounding hills, that is to say, out of the then nations of the Græco-Roman empire, to which the Gospel has hitherto been preached, but out of the immeasurable flat plain from the centre of which those twelve hills arose. And, behold! the very fairest and noblest stones are brought out of this unpromising soil, and the building advances rapidly towards its completion. By the interpretation given of the twelve mountains, it is clearly enough hinted that the plain signifies the peoples which are still entirely heathen, therefore more especially the Celts and Germans, whose

conversion did, in fact, begin shortly after; nay, even at that date, there might probably be some preparatory steps towards it already in progress.

The good Shepherd himself, who gives all these explanations, is the Angel of Repentance. He parts from Hermas with the warning that concludes the book, which Hermas is ordered to write down :—

"Mind therefore your salvation in the time that the building of the tower is going on. The Lord dwells in men who love peace, for true peace is dear to Him, and far removed from the quarrelsome and wicked. Render to Him your spirit in the soundness in which you received it. Whoever now repents truly will receive pardon for his former sins."

The Spirit leaves him in the house of the twelve virgins —the Christian virtues. Then He comes and seats Himself beside Hermas, with the Angel of Penitence on the other side, and after delivering to him his commission to announce to all the words of this book, sends him home to his own house, that he may take the proper means for the conversion of his own family.

Thus was the parable of Christ concerning the King's supper, to which all were at last invited, even from the highways and hedges, applied in the spirit of St. Paul to the whole human race of the second century. Not indeed without some traces of an incipient trust in the efficacy of good works, still in the main in accordance with the spirit of St. Paul's sublime teachings, and instinct with the faith in a progressive kingdom of God upon the earth. Certainly the end of the world may soon arrive; but there are still wanting many nations in whose bosom elect souls are slumbering.

Thus this book, written for popular spiritual edification in the earliest period of Christianity, keeps entirely to the ground of Scripture and revelation, within the domain of that great conception of the presence of the Spirit of God in man. Each Christian is a "Servant of the Lord;" and so was also even the perfect man Jesus, in Whom the

Spirit of God, "the First-born," dwelt, and who by his holy life and death was made a perfect partaker of the Divine nature. But hence Jesus is at once called the "Son of God," and regarded as equivalent to the "Spirit of God,"[1] a Christology which is in substance based on the later letters of St. Paul and the Gospel of St. John.

But to our author the Church is the highest thing on earth, for it is the visible Body of the Lord. The Bishop and the Elders who form the governing board are, equally with the teachers who instruct and the deacons who serve, ministers of the Church. It is only on occasion of her first apparition, while Hermas is yet imperfect, that the Spirit of the Church appears as a matron sitting upon the episcopal chair, for as the Book says: "Every infirm man sits upon a chair on account of his infirmity, which makes him need a support." When the conscience of Hermas has already been awakened, she assumes a milder form, and appears "softly smiling;" and when his heart has been renewed, she beams forth in radiant beauty, but scorns the chair (the seat of the Bishop), and seats herself upon the bench (*subsellium*, the lower seat occupied by the Elders). Thus the "Spirit of the Earth" (the hierarchy) sits upon the Cathedra, the Elders upon low chairs or benches. God's people stand below in the nave of the Church; and on this fashion do they worship. This worship consists in prayer and in the word of the Spirit. Baptism is that of adults, and is the seal of a previous confession of faith. Hence it is called "*The Seal*," but only in so far as the mind and heart are renewed; it is therefore the public seal put upon the vow made by the believer. The Apostles descend with the catechumen into the water, and he rises renewed with them out of it (that is, in their spirit).

All this, as well as the mention of the "Only-begotten," betrays such clear allusion to St. John's Gospel,[2] that the

[1] See 2 Cor. iii. 17; Phil. i. 19; Rom. viii. 9.
[2] See Ch. i. and iii.

original hypothesis of the late origin of this gospel would seem as untenable from this work as it does from the "Epistle to Diognetus" and the writings of Basilides and Valentinus. On the contrary, they are all witnesses for an organic development of the consciousness of God in Humanity, based upon the ground of doctrines proclaimed in that Gospel, which are treated as those of the Apostle himself, and admit of no explanation, except by a reference to that work and to its application to the circumstances of the age.

This thoroughly apostolic consciousness of the inseparability of the divine and the human, of Jesus and the believers, of the Spirit and the Church, meets us again at the beginning of the third century as the Divine germ of all sound and consolatory thought in Clemens of Alexandria, and in Origen, in the second half of that century. The former of these writers claims from us a more special consideration because he is the purest exponent we possess of the mind of the Hellenic Church of that age.

## V.

### *Clemens of Alexandria.*

CLEMENS, born at Athens, was a pupil of PANTÆNUS, a celebrated philosopher, who, converted from Platonic Stoicism to Christianity, sought to unite the sober dialectic and critical tendency of the Hellenic intellect with the religion of Jesus. This universally respected Christian philosopher had already applied the dialectic philosophy to the great question of the moral order of the world, and, moreover, apprehended that question in its deepest ground. For this seems to be proved by one of his sayings that has been preserved to us.[1] To the question

[1] In the "Scholia" of Maximus, which again have been preserved to us by Erigena's translation of "Dionysius Areopagita." See Routh's "Reliquiæ Sacræ," i. p. 379, where, however, some trifling corrections are needed.

propounded by some Greek dialectician—How the God of the Christians was supposed to apprehend objects (the Finite world), whether sensible objects by the senses, and spiritual objects by the mind?—Pantænus is reported to have replied as follows:—

> Neither by the senses [does He apprehend] sensible objects, nor by the mind the things of the mind. For it is impossible that He who is exalted above the Finite world should apprehend aught after the fashion of the Finite. We (the Christians) say rather, that God perceives the Finite as the result of the counsels of His own will, and for this assertion we can assign a good ground. For if God have made the All by the decree of His counsels (Will)—and no one will contradict this assumption,—and if it be always pious and correct to say that God knows His own will, and if, in fact, He has made all that has come into existence by the exercise of His volition, it is proved that God apprehends the Finite as the counsels of His own will, inasmuch as He has made the Finite as one exercising His will.

Now, since the answer must be commensurate with the question—but the latter includes the Spiritual, therefore Humanity—we have here involved this great philosophical postulate:—There is a moral order of the universe grounded in the Eternal, and the religious intuitions of mankind have an objective truth.

Now this teacher was succeeded by Clemens in the chair of the earliest theological school of Christendom, that of Alexandria, about the year 190, and the greater part of his writings must be assigned to the period between the death of Commodus (192 A.D.) and the beginning of the third century. Already in the year 202 A.D. he was driven from his professorial chair by persecution. Now, regarded from the centre-point of our survey of the unfolding of the Christian consciousness of God in history, the religious philosophy of Clemens appears to us to present the highest example of the combination of a Christian believer's theory of the world with that of the noblest Hellenic conceptions. The union of faith and

knowledge, of theology and philosophy, was from the first the aim of his conscious effort. The errors of the Gnostics he escaped by keeping close to Christ and the Gospel. This is particularly evident in regard to the three main points which were the most important questions of that day. He cared more for the Church than for the Schools; he ranked faith above knowledge; the Christian life was ever to him the touchstone of both.

In this faith he formed the bold resolution to pursue the path that had been opened up by Valentinus and his School, in the philosophical investigation of St. John's Gospel, more especially its Prologue. The great question which agitated the Catholic Church at that date was that of the connection of the Eternal Logos with the Person of Jesus, or, in other words, of the Idea with its historical embodiment. Photius, the famous Byzantine patriarch of the ninth century, accuses Clemens of heresy on this subject. The passage which he adduces in proof of his accusations has not been preserved to us in the works of Clemens himself; it must have been taken from the "*Hypotyposes*," of which we have only fragments; but these are sufficient to show that the religious beliefs of Clemens were quite in unison with those of the Apostles. He was far removed on the one hand from merging the Deity into the idea of the universe or the process of human evolution, and on the other, from placing that impassable chasm between God and the universe which Judaism involved. He was content (adopting the views expressed in the quotation we have given from Pantænus) to find the distinction between the two in the antithesis between the Eternal *Being* and the transitory *Becoming*—the Infinite, and that which is subject to the conditions of Time and Space. The Word of God (the *Logos*), in the highest sense, is, according to him, God's self-consciousness; but in the finite world, in its relation to men, since Jesus returned to His Father, this Word speaks to us through the

medium of our own consciousness of God, and dwells as a Spirit (*Nous*) in the hearts of men.

Now, this is really the sense of the incriminated words :—

"The Son (Christ) is also called *Logos* (the Word), therefore bears the same name which is borne by the Logos of the Father (the Eternal Word, having no beginning). But it is not this Logos *that was made flesh*,[1] nor yet the Logos of the Father, but rather (*there was made man*) an energy of God, as it were an overflow of the Logos Himself which, having become Spirit, penetrates the hearts of men." [2]

The comments made by Clemens on the system of Theodotus leave us in no doubt as to the main point—that Clemens sought to arrive at the pure historical manifestation from the transcendental, ontological starting-point, while avoiding the imaginative and unscriptural vagaries to which the Gnostics were addicted. The thinker needs some bridge by which to pass from the contemplation of God in Himself to the explanation of the human personality. Now, the Church divines had encumbered this pathway with unnecessary difficulties, in the first place, by failing duly to distinguish the transcendental point of view from that of the creation of the universe, notwithstanding the fact that the opening words of St. John's Prologue lay a marked stress upon this distinction ; and in the second place, by not duly discriminating between this Logos, who is the Creator of the universe, and the personal Son, who is the human reflex of the Divine Volition directed upon Finite objects. Many of those who recognized this distinction correctly in the Gospel, and understood it in its philosophic and historical concreteness, seem to have feared to carry it out into its consequences, lest they should lend a handle to those who assume that the nature of Christ differed in essence from that of the Father. By the age of Photius, any clear conception of this distinction between the Logos and the Son had long since been lost,

[1] John i. 14. [2] "Analecta," vol. i. p. 305.

because the formulas of the Councils had interposed themselves between free philosophic thought and the words of the Bible. Thus the sense of the concluding words of the passage we have quoted (which for the rest betrays manifest tokens of abridgement) can be no other than that Clemens, taking his stand on the discourses contained in St. John's Gospel, from the 14th to the 17th chapters, placed the incarnation of God in Christ side by side with the working of the Spirit of God in the hearts of believers.

This idea of Clemens and its misconception by the Church are facts of abiding historical importance, at once for the philosopher, the Biblical expositor, and the historian. What is really the Byzantine doctrine that assumes to itself the title of orthodoxy? Although theologians of all ages seem to have found a special delight in giving out whatever is most absurd and illogical for the highest truth, in which we are bound to believe precisely because it is inconceivable; yet assuredly this doctrine (which is really a mere declaration of intellectual bankruptcy) has long since ceased to satisfy earnest and conscientious minds. On the contrary, such a crude conception of Divine things can only find its excuse, or at least explanation, in the fact of religion being regarded as something external, and God's revelation of Himself as an arbitrary act on His part, having no connection with reason. Now, certainly, the example of Clemens shows us that the mere speculative philosopher has no more chance when matched against those untrained or sophistical intellects than the mere collector of facts. Happily, however, the same example also points us onward to the fact attested by the whole subsequent history of Christianity, that neither superstition nor scepticism are able to maintain their ground successfully on this domain against those united weapons of the intellect, reasoning and research, save when they have recourse to the aid of fire and sword. By reasoning and research we mean the organic combination of dialectic thought with philosophic

and historical investigation of facts. A philosophy which is well versed in the letter of Scripture, and qualified to expound that letter correctly, is well able to demonstrate the groundlessness of the doctrines thus taken for granted; and the philological conscience of an age, which, in addition to this, is conversant with the dialectic method, cannot be stifled, even by torrents of bloodshed, save for a brief space.

Clemens' whole conception of God's presence and agency in the world is in unison with the spirit of the Gospel. It is based upon that recognition already referred to, of the distinction and yet connection subsisting between God and the Universe,—Thought and its Manifestation. This supplies the key to that bold language of Clemens in his "*Exhortation to the Hellenes.*"[1] "The Logos put on the mask of humanity, and clothed Himself with flesh; and in this guise did He enact the drama of man's redemption upon the theatre of the universe;" with which we ought to compare his language respecting the life of the intelligent believer,[2] in which he says of the "Gnostic" (the intelligent rational believer), that "he performs without a slip the drama of life which God has set him to enact."

We see by these illustrations that the incarnation of the Logos in Christ is not a mere semblance, as the Docetic Gnostics maintained, but a substantial and actual embodiment; a view which involves two consequences, one of which is expressly drawn by our author. In his view, the life of Christ's followers is essentially a Divine as well as human life; consequently, therefore (but this inference he does not draw), the life of Humanity seeking after God, and above all of Christendom, regarded as a collective Whole in Time, must necessarily be so likewise; for the divinity of human nature in our whole race is the root-idea of our author.

It must be admitted, however, that if we come to examine more in detail the philological and historical arguments which Clemens adduces in support of these views

[1] I. 10 cf. 1. [2] "Strom." xii. 11.

of his, we shall certainly find much that will seem startling, nay, scarcely conceivable, to us. Thus we might be inclined to smile when the ingenious Alexandrine, in commenting on the current traditions respecting the life of Christ subsequent to the Resurrection, seriously expresses the opinion that the only reason why Christ ate and drank was that his disciples might not doubt of the reality of his body.[1] But in so judging of him, we ought to remember that the unvarying and systematic contempt expressed by many modern, nay, most recent, theologians, for the Divine laws of Nature, and the actual material universe, especially as regards the human organism, is no less arbitrary, and must present quite as formidable a stumbling-block to any unprejudiced and thoughtful-minded Christian. This need not, however, prevent our recognizing, either in their case or in that of the ancient theologians, the many true sayings to be found in the writings of at any rate the more profound of these authors. They are right, not because of, but in spite of, their exegesis of Scripture. Thus Pantænus in commenting on the fourth verse of the nineteenth Psalm: "In them (the ends of the world) hath he set a tabernacle for the sun," which the Alexandrines had falsely translated: "And he placed in the sun his tabernacles," says:—

"According to Hermogenes, we are to understand 'the tabernacles' to mean either the physical body of our Lord, or the believers who are His spiritual body; but we ought rather to understand it of both; for the Scripture, speaking prophetically, is wont to use the present tense in the stead of the future or the past."

Clemens expressly assents to this interpretation, and carries out the thought still further.[2] For, according to him, these words, in relation to the past, refer to the First-born of creation, the highest angels; in relation to the future, the collective body of believers, for do not all believers constitute the one Body of Christ? Thus, at

[1] "Strom." vi. 9. [2] "Analecta," vol. i. p. 311, sq. § 56.

the end of all things they are destined to be transported to the sun. What can be more utterly baseless and futile than such an exposition; for in no sense is there any reference whatever to the body of the Lord? But for all this it is perfectly true that the body of Christ must be taken to signify the sum-total of believing mankind, when that term is used with reference to universal history and the work of the Holy Spirit. And this is what Clemens believed himself entitled to maintain, and reasons out very sensibly. Thus, he is right as to his thought, though he is wrong as to his exegesis. So likewise with Clemens, that profound and distinct apprehension of the meaning of the world's history which so marvellously distinguishes him above his forerunners and successors among the Fathers of the Græco-Roman Church, evolved itself quite organically out of his fundamental conception of the actual agency of God in man's heart and destinies, unhindered by his fallacious allegorical interpretations of Scripture. We might, perhaps, translate his thought into our present philosophical language by calling it:—*The recognition of an order of the world in history, in the shape of a divine education of our race into the knowledge of the Good; an order constituting the true meaning of that which we call Providence (providentia, pronoia).* Neander has brought together the most important passages of Clemens bearing on this point, and presented them in a very clear and appreciative manner.[1] One might almost say that this thought explains the form and the successive order of all the works of Clemens, from his "*Exhortation*" and his "*Pædagogue*" to the "*Stromata*" and the hitherto too much neglected, because not understood, "*Hypotyposes.*"

"God," says Clemens, "has chosen two modes by which to prepare the way for the redemption through Christ and his gospel—viz., the law of the Jews and the philosophy of the Hellenes. This philosophy was not

[1] See his "Kirchengeschichte," i. s. 921-935.

(as the superstitious book of Enoch asserts, and many then, as now, endeavour to persuade themselves and others) an emanation from the evil spirits, but a noble gift of God and a legitimate pendant to the law — regarded as a preparatory dispensation. It is part of the divine plan for the education of the human race. It was that unspiritual view contained in the book of Enoch which called forth the stern antagonism of the Gnostics. Clemens rose above this view, and discerned in the older dispensation the anticipatory mercy and truth of God. The law, he says, is, equally with philosophy, incompetent to clothe us in a perfect righteousness. Under both alike it was needful for man's justification that the redemption should come, which is God's act to save man, wrought through Christ. But what the prophets were for the Jews, that the elect souls among the Hellenes were for their nation—their sages who "accustomed the ear of the people to the great joyful tidings." Christianity is the fulfilment alike of the law and of the prophets. The luxuriant wild olive tree is converted into the noble fruit-bearing tree by the infusion of the divine nutriment. The light which philosophy has artificially borrowed from the sun with her burning-glass now shines direct from the sun himself on all mankind, imparting to them life and warmth. Perhaps the finest way in which he ever put this thought is that magnificent passage of the *Stromata* (i. 13), where he says:—

"The barbaric (Jewish) and the Hellenic philosophy have in some sort rent the eternal truth into fragments, a dismemberment not like that mythic one of Dionysos: but a severance of the Divine wisdom (theology) from the Word of the eternally-existing One. Now, he who shall join together again the severed portions, and make the Word once more whole and *at one*, such an one shall assuredly gaze on the truth without peril."

The Alexandrines who followed in the footsteps of Clemens were, like him, enabled by these exalted views

to recognize the truths which lay at the root of many of the heresies; for these writers did succeed in distinguishing between swerving aside in non-essentials and contradiction in the main points, and in so doing they laid the foundation of a proper presentment of universal history, of a pure objective science of history; or, at least, they made such a science possible for succeeding ages.

That in this attempt Clemens often committed mistakes, was partly owing to his deficiency in philosophical method, but still more to his ignorance of the original language of the Old Testament. That he did not follow out those fundamental ideas of his further had, however, another reason in the melancholy—nay, apparently hopeless—condition of society in general at that date, which made it inconceivably difficult even for the finest minds to recognize the hand of God in the visible realities that surrounded them, or to cherish any reasonable hopes for the future as regarded this world. So much the more cheering is it on this very account, to see that in virtue of his faith in the triumph of God's kingdom on this earth, and consequently in the progress of mankind along the pathway pointed out by Christ towards that goal, Clemens held that evil was not eternal. For the belief in the eternity of evil, whether regarded from a philosophical or a scriptural point of view, really amounts to placing the seat of evil in God Himself, Who is the Eternal. That which Origen endeavoured to establish on metaphysical grounds is distinctly asserted by Clemens—namely, that at the end of all things evil shall be vanquished on this earth; even the Devil is at length to be brought to the acknowledgement of the love of God.

Thus, we may affirm in conclusion that the leading minds of the Alexandrine Church were the spiritual organs of Christendom in that age, who, basing their teaching on the inculcation and application of the Apostolic writings, especially those of Paul and John, worked

out the religion of Jesus into its results both for faith and philosophy with wonderful unanimity. Both the cultus and the mode of Church government exhibit a thorough harmony of spirit with those earliest efforts of the Aryan intellect. The spirit and the letter, reason and conscience, science and practical life, were not severed from each other; no barrier stood between God and man.

It now still remains for us to consider the whole mighty phenomenon presented by this scriptural Christian conception of God's presence with man, under the aspect of a great event in the development of the spiritual Kosmos, and so to fathom more deeply what might be its historical import for all succeeding ages. Not until we have done this can we duly estimate the contrasts presented by the religious consciousness of the Church persecuted and the Church regnant.

## CHAPTER VI.

### RECAPITULATION AND ANTICIPATION.

It is impossible not to recognize that that quickened sense of the presence of God among men, which had grown up in the Græco-Roman world, as a result of the life of the Church and the utterances of her prophets, and which preserved its vitality unimpaired during the first three centuries, betokened the germ of a new epoch in the development of that blessed consciousness. The external position of affairs presented only an aggravation of misery and ominousness since the days of Tacitus, the Roman prophet of death; and yet in the inmost heart of the expiring world there throbbed a new life of moral enthusiasm that was rich in hope; namely, in the Christian societies which kept themselves pure in the midst of defilement, cherished love in the midst of hatred, maintained a steadfast faith in God's presence in the midst of general anguish. Now the heroes of Greek Christian literature brought this life into contact with all that was highest and noblest in the culture and genius of the ancient world; and then did Christianity feel itself to be the religion of the intellect, and indeed of our whole nature. Through Christianity, human nature had once more recovered its self-respect, and it had done so through the power of a moral Personality in absolute union with God, and by faith in that Personality.

On the other hand, we may not ignore that even with this consciousness of God's presence in Humanity was mingled a sense of approaching dissolution, so far as the actual realities around were concerned. The kingdoms

of this world must needs perish, for were they not enemies of Christ? Christ had not indeed reappeared visibly at the fall of Jerusalem, but doubtless He will so reappear to make an end of all things at the destruction of Rome, whose senate and aristocracy represented the very core of the heathen element of enmity to Christianity. Such was the belief current among the Christians of that age. True, indeed, a new starting-point of progress had been divinely bestowed in the coming of Jesus to be the founder of the Kingdom of God upon earth; and one sole blessed aim of aspiration set up before all eyes, in the sure hope that the eternal life in God, begun here on earth, should be perfected hereafter. But as regarded the individual, the pathway to this life lay through the death of the body; as regarded Humanity, through the destruction of this world, i.e. the dissolution of this earthly globe. The existing world of that age lay too deeply buried beneath the shadow of the curse for the heavenly ray of a bright future to pierce its gloom. In some respects, the sense of richly merited death, of unavertable ruin, pressed still more heavily on the hearts of believers than on those of the pagans. Certain it is, at all events, that the adherents of the old religion closed their hearts against the sense of the retributive divine justice, whether this arose from disbelief in that justice or from Roman national pride. How should it be possible for Rome to perish? This was the last prop of the sceptics, that if Rome fell, the world which she governed must fall with her. And on this point pagans and Christians thought pretty much alike. We, of this day, looking back from the vantage-ground of nearly two millenniums, can easily discern that there was a needs-be that Rome should perish, inasmuch as she was the very focus of the corruption which had overflooded the whole earth with tyranny and selfishness; nay, the selfish element had incarnated itself in her with an almost superhuman energy of evil. We also know now as a matter of fact that it was precisely from the date of Rome's over-

110803

throw, that a new morning dawned upon the earth. But no heathen believed this, and with very few Christians did their faith in the coming kingdom of God assume this shape.

Thus both Christians and heathens coincided in the apprehension of a general breaking-up, and the sense that society was constantly sinking deeper and deeper into a slough of complications and wretchedness. The Jews alone had already suffered the worst that could befall them, and had been for centuries steeping their souls in hatred against all existing institutions. The Christians were not without hope, like the heathens, but their hope was not for this life; it was directed to a future state of being. Yet there were not wanting a few who had rightly interpreted the hint vouchsafed by divine Providence in the fall of Jerusalem; who discerned, that is to say, that no personal reappearance of Christ was to be expected on the overthrow of Rome. Now these latter planted their faith on the visions and obscure prophecies of the seer of the Apocalypse. But in this quarter, too, all was dark except the three great predictions,—that of the escape of the Christians at the destruction of the Temple, that of the inevitable overthrow of the Roman empire, and that of the appearing of the new Jerusalem. Thus upon all classes there weighed more or less heavily the overwhelming persuasion of impending death. The corpses of the three great nationalities of the ancient world lay, as it were, outstretched for *post-mortem* examination before the spectator, though it was only the Jews who had entirely forfeited their political existence. But all three were alike doomed to destruction, each through its own besetting sin. The Greek desired nothing but to enjoy himself and to contemplate himself complacently in the mirror of his own philosophy and art. The Roman desired to govern all mankind in order to minister ever more and more to his own selfishness; the Jew desired to shut up his nation in a hostile seclusion as the people of God, but the

avaricious rich men among them oppressed their poorer brethren more and more. To all three did the Christian announce the approaching end of the world, when he demanded of the Greek, abstinence and rigid purity; of the Roman, loving humble service of his fellows; of the Jew, the renunciation of that repelling exclusiveness on the score of mere externalities, and of his inordinate striving after the acquisition of wealth.

Nor in such a condition of the world was it possible, even among the Christians, for a full and healthy sense of the agency of God in the world to grow up. The noblest feature in the view of the world, taken by the most intellectual and progressive of the leading minds among them—viz., the Alexandrine Fathers—was their firm grasp of the belief in the eternal love of God that had revealed itself in Jesus; the belief that God guides the destinies of mankind, not only with omnipotence and justice, but also with eternal love. It is this belief with which Origen encounters the sceptical and despairing Celsus, and it is this in which his strength lies. During this period, the persecutions of the Roman Emperors grew more and more systematic and relentless, precisely because the Christians were fast becoming "a power." "The end of the world draweth nigh" was a current saying under the persecutions of Diocletian and Maxentius. Then came Constantine's triumphal entry into Rome in 312, after his victory at the Milvian bridge, and in 325 A.D. his accession to the sole imperial power. But Christianity became a State religion. After a brief struggle under Julian, the Catholic Church stood forth triumphant under the great Theodosius as a ruling corporation. Was this event the end of the world or the end of congregational apostolic Christianity? Such a question we are now fain to put after the lapse of 1,500 years. The world is still standing; the pagan world-empire has long since been replaced by Christian nations; but do they constitute the new earth, or is Humanity still

struggling in the thick of the conflict? and what is she struggling for? and whose fault is it that she has to struggle?

It is evidently important that, ere entering on the contemplation of the great 1,500-years drama of Aryan Humanity, with the tragic history of its belief in the real presence of God, we should endeavour to represent clearly to ourselves, in all their depth, what were the permanent eternal acquisitions to our religious conceptions that have been conquered for us by those first three Christian centuries.

The three great Factors or efficient forces of that religious consciousness which, during the earlier millenniums, have presented themselves to our view, either apart from each other or else in conflict and contradiction, had now, for the first time, been made manifest in all their purity—God, Man, the Community. God as the Eternal Father; the Individual Human Soul, as the finite mind, which dimly forebodes or clearly beholds in the Eternal the cause of the universe and of itself; lastly, the Community, which recognizes itself as Humanity—the One, divinely bound up together; that is to say, recognizes itself to be *a whole*, not merely in the co-existence of the members of a single generation, but also in their succession and perpetuity.

Of these three Factors, the first—God—was the postulate of Christianity derived from Judaism. In fact, the unity of the Eternal Godhead had been so simply and clearly held up before mankind in the religion derived from Abraham and Moses, that no other starting-point was possible for the universal religion of the Spirit. The Fount and continuous causal Principle of all visible and transitory objects cannot itself be visible, finite, transitory—a being which we may comprehend under any form or shape, or even reduce within the limits of the universe itself. This Eternal Causality, however, is a moral, and rational, and good Principle—nay, the

Eternal Goodness itself—and hence it has its finite reflex in the heart of man.

But the Græco-Roman religion was not in a position to supply the second Factor—a divino-human Personality. The distinctive characteristic of the Hellenic religion does indeed, no doubt, rest upon the assumption of a human incarnation of God; but the only realization of this idea which that religion supplied, consisted in fictitious heroes—sons of the gods—of very questionable morality, and in whose divine parentage even the pious no longer believed, because the realities around them were in too glaring a contradiction to such a faith. Nor did even the philosopher know what to do with such a religion, since the multiplicity of the gods had overclouded the first Factor, and therefore narrowed the import of the second, even in its very ideal. But now this second Factor had been supplied by the teachings, life, and death of Jesus; and hence the ideal of a divine yet human Personality, forming a realized manifestation of God, had entered the consciousness of a society which believed in the Eternal Father without being fettered by the Jewish Law, or compelled to seek the presence of God elsewhere than in the human breast and in collective Humanity. Not only does the belief in the Eternal Jehovah continue to be the starting-point of the Christian conception of God's presence among men, but we may even say, that only now, for the first time, does that belief shine out in all its brightness. Jesus knew himself to be the immediate product and operation of the Eternal—of absolutely like nature with the Father, but of course within the bounds, and therefore subject to the limitations, of the Finite; "the Father—the Eternal—is greater" than the Son; but the Son is the same in kind, and doeth upon earth, in the spirits of men, the works which he seeth the Father do in the universe at large. Thus he is the manifested Godhead; that Presence of the Eternal, dimly foreboded by all nations and

sages, but never seen with their eyes and recognized as a reality. In the sayings of Jesus, and the ordinary language of the apostolic writings, the Eternal only is called God; or, to put it differently, God in His own essence is alone called the Eternal or Jehovah. This view, this thought founds itself on the unmistakeable language of Jesus. Neither the Church nor its prophets recognized any other phraseology as allowable.

But it is equally certain that they recognized themselves to constitute the realization in time of the second of the two visible Factors of our consciousness of God's most indwelling presence in the universe, viz. the Church; that is to say, mankind regarding itself as the collectivity of the redeemed. Now this realization was at once visible and not visible: it was visible in the individual persons who accepted Jesus as their Saviour; it was invisible in their bond of union—the Spirit Who constituted them from many into one. So far from annihilating their individuality, this Spirit, on the contrary, elevated them into the perfection of their personality, raised them into free agents, who understand themselves and enjoy inward peace. This Spirit was not something created—not something simply appertaining to Humanity, or in other words finite; but the Spirit of the Eternal, who poured Himself out into Humanity through the medium of the first morally perfect, self-conscious Personality, moulding that Humanity into the true body of the elect, *i.e.* into a limitless unity, and a progressive perfection, transcending the narrow bounds of the brief personal life of individuals. Thus the manifestation itself is with the Church, as with Jesus, temporal, finite, transitory; but inasmuch as it perpetuates itself in an unending series, it becomes a Whole when beheld in the Spirit; and the essence of that which is manifested in it is Conscious Mind, not any created force of Nature, not even the collective visible universe with its forces, but the Eternal God Himself, and without a medium. In explaining these

two Factors—Man and Humanity—we are authorized by history to adopt the more simple phraseology:—*God, the Eternal, has become Man in Jesus, and since the ascension of Jesus to the Father, God is being made man to the end of the world, in the successive generations of mankind, that is to say, in believing Humanity.*

The former actual realization of God in Christ stands an accomplished work in all its glory before us, the latter realization of Him in the Church is a work proceeding before our eyes; and every individual among us is called upon to form part of this progressive embodying of God, and in so doing to receive afresh as a divine personality that Self which he has freely offered up for the sake of the brethren out of grateful love.

This consciousness of the divine actuality of the third Factor is also clearly evident in those first centuries, whether we look for it in the intentional phraseology used by their prophets, or in that sphere which is higher than the sphere of logical thought, because it is thought turned into act, viz., the religious and secular life of the community. In this life, the Christian society appears with a threefold consecration. In the first instance, this sanctification had assumed a visible shape in their holy assemblies. The body of believers filled the house of God, and the place of their holiest common act or communion was the "Holy of Holies" in the temple. The congregation itself is called, and is, the temple of God. Secondly, now, for the first time, was the profound, unfathomable significance of sacrifice made visible in the act of worship. The worshippers themselves constituted at once their own priest and their own sacrifice; their vow of self-surrender was the truth underlying all Jewish, and no less all heathen, antitypes. The Church is the true body of our Lord, and is continually offered up in daily renewed sacrifice. Thirdly, for the first time did a community feel itself to be such in virtue of its participation in the common human nature, not in virtue of the national or political bond.

The Church is God's kingdom upon earth. And this great work has not been accomplished by means of philosophical wisdom, but has proceeded as by a divine necessity, spontaneously from the consciousness of the community of believers scattered over the face of the earth. Consequently it must have been the work of the eternal Logos Himself, Who is the eternal law of all efficiency. But if this be so, then the third of these Factors must in a quite special sense have exerted a moulding influence upon the shape assumed by the collective consciousness of Christian mankind. For therein does the Eternal, as the conscious mind of the Godhead, unite Himself with the finite.

Let us now reflect what a prodigious energy for life and for death dwells latent in this first pure presentment of the harmony of the three necessary Factors of man's religious consciousness. The like had never been actually existent before, although in all ages longed for and striven after. It was such an absolute reversal of all existing institutions that it could not fail either to succumb in the conflict with the latter, or else to revolutionize the whole world. It is needless at this time of day to say which of the two alternatives took place.

But in the process of that divinization of the world—a process continually becoming more and more complicated as it extended and developed itself—it was indispensable that it should, ever more and more strenuously, and therefore consciously, adhere to the eternal conditions of that process; and here lay one of the greatest of those dangers to which we called our readers' attention at the conclusion of our first chapter.

What are these dangers, seen from the standing-point of universal history? The Christian belief in the Eternal has for its postulate the Unity of the All, not simply as the idea of the eternal self-consciousness of the Deity, and not merely in the phenomenal universe, but also in the human similitude of the Deity. It is not only need-

ful that the dogma, or doctrine, *i.e.* the system of intellectual thought, should conform to this condition, but also the life of the Church; therefore its organization and mode of worship. From each of the three must continuously be eliminated that selfish element, which, in virtue of the law of all finite development, adheres to it, either in the shape of Judaism or heathenism. The latter denies practically the unity, which it nevertheless acknowledges in words, and loses the Eternal amidst the multiplicity of His manifestations. The former denies the fact of the substantial presence of God in Jesus and the Church, therefore in Personality and Humanity, although it assumes that substantial presence as a postulate in the Scriptures and in thought. Thus the Eternal, the Being who is All in All, becomes to the Judaiser, against his will, a mere "Ancient of Days"—in the sense of *a* "Supreme Being;" and the Omnipresent becomes no longer anywhere actually existent in the real world. The course of both these maladies we have watched in heathenism and in Judaism. Can that malady have conformed itself to other laws in Christianity? Or shall we not more probably find that, in this case too, the intellectual dogma and the practical life exert a reciprocal influence on each other?

According to the testimony of the Scriptures and of the three first centuries, the Christian belief in the Divine Son assumes for its *divine* condition the uniqueness of the Redeemer, and for its *human* condition the universal need of a redemption. So likewise the Christian belief in the Holy Ghost demands on the one hand that we should regard the Spirit as God Himself, Who is bearing witness of Himself in the collective body of believing hearts, and on the other, that the revelation and manifestation which He has given Himself should be acknowledged in the assembly of believers. Each of these postulates has drawn after it momentous and far-reaching consequences for the after development of the constitution of the

Christian Church, and still more momentous and mournful effects on its worship. As regards the constitution, it follows from these premisses that Christ alone is King and Lord of the Church, which can call no man on earth "Father" without blasphemy. As regards the mode of worship, it follows that none born of a woman ought to be invoked as an object of prayer and adoration, save the Divine Son and the Holy Ghost; the Son as the perfect substance of the Manifested Eternal, therefore according to His Eternal nature in God, but not as a finite teacher and prophet, or as the Representative of the Church: the Spirit as God in the believers. Now this was so strongly the sentiment of Christendom in those early centuries that we even find that which had been established and consecrated by ancient custom as a fixed rule and law, cited in a tolerably late decree of the Councils, viz. *that in the celebration of the Lord's Supper none but the Father shall be invoked by the Church in the common prayers.*

But how difficult will it become in future ages to hold fast these two principles! "*Die gewaltigen und die gnädigen Herren*" (to follow Luther's translation of Luke xxii. 25), *i.e.* Bishops and Episcopal Synods, Princes and Emperors, will rise to the head of the Church which is the religion of the Empire. And even though the mind of the Church should set itself in opposition to the ambition of Kings, will it equally withstand the ambition of its own Spiritual Lords? And will not the whole corporate body of believers who constitute in the highest sense the channel whereby man apprehends God, be affected by that ambition? Will not its inmost import be assailed, shaken, and at last subverted? And this even without the advent of exceptionally violent or ambitious characters, simply in virtue of the gradual retreat of the mass of believers into the background, till at length it totally disappears? And will not the "Elder" (*Presbyter*) by this very fact be transformed from a teacher and

servant of the congregation into a "priest," a mediator, therefore an intermediary—the spiritual sacrifice of the congregation *his* act, *his* sacrifice, therefore something external, having no significance, except it be performed by a priest? The belief that God and Christ are actually present in our heart and conscience, and felt to be exerting there a saving and redeeming influence, is absolutely incompatible with the belief that they are present in a creature, still less in a handiwork of man. Hence will not the latter notion imperil the sense of our need of redemption, our justifying faith, our personal moral religion, and render it at length impossible to retain the sole mediatorship of Christ? Will not the "saints" or, to use the language of Scripture, those who are separate from the world, therefore all believers, be converted into religious "patrons," to be invoked as helpers, and so practically made the objects of the Church's worship? And, lastly, will not the organizing authorities come to regard the root-idea thus transformed as the received conception divinely handed down, nay, confound it with the Eternal Himself, and treat it as such, and then upon this misconception rear a theory and construct a system that shall set up an error as the very distinguishing test of faith? And will not this error consequently at last assume the guise of a sacred law, nay, the most sacred of all laws, which the State is bound to enforce by external coercion? For how else should it maintain itself in spite of Scripture and the intuitions of conscience? And if it be not absolute, eternal truth, what is it then? And will it not then grow worse than before? It is a wise old proverb which says that "the worst of all things is the corruption of the good" (*corruptio optimi pessima*).

We have seen how the historical element of religion, if left without trustworthy records, necessarily loses its objective support and its distinctive type, and moreover know that the Bible is not merely the best and the holiest, but also the only truly historical record drawn from the

very well-head of universal innate religious consciousness. The faith in the Bible, regarded as the record of divine dealings with mankind, is co-ordinate with the internal religious consciousness of the individual, not restraining but guiding and consoling the latter, and raising it above the fluctuations which necessarily manifest themselves in the great historical development. But the Bible does not comport with such a system, for the premisses on which that system is built up are not to be found in the Gospel, and are demonstrably later perversions of that which really is there. Hence, whenever such a system comes to be reduced to scholastic formulæ, its contradictions to the Bible become glaring; only one of the two can reign and exercise regulative authority, and therefore in such a case will not the word of God, which all Christendom in theory acknowledges to be contained in the Bible, be made subject to the ordinances of man, and the later Judaic system again oppress mankind with reinforced strength?

And when freedom and the Bible are taken away, when the One Eternal God retires behind any sort of plurality or manifestation, when the Redeemer is no longer sole, when the conscience of the Church is oppressed, and therefore she herself set at nought, how, in such a state of things, can saving faith remain in the communion of the Church;—nay, except by the overruling providence of God, how can it survive at all amongst mankind? And will not infidelity prove to be the fruit of this corruption no less than superstition, civil bondage no less than spiritual? Will not Christ be crucified afresh through long centuries, during which the souls of the slain cry out, "How long, O Lord, how long?" (Rev. v. 10.) Will not the Holy Spirit of God be blasphemed by that denial of the divine as the Good, which is not forgiven, that is to say, which conducts inevitably to the downfall of peoples and States?

We are compelled to put these questions to ourselves, for we are about to enter on the consideration of a development almost superhuman in its grave and tragical character; a development which is indeed an insoluble knot, or at all events a knot which has not yet been disentangled.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH REGNANT AND HIERARCHICAL, AS EXHIBITED IN HER CONSTITUTION.

The Church, which in the second decade of the fourth century, became under Constantine an imperial institution—the dominant and privileged religion—which sixty years later, under Theodosius, had already become the sole established faith and persecuted others, had from the close of the fourth century gradually developed into an Episcopal Church, governed by the clergy. The sense of brotherhood had given place to the sense of membership in a corporation; the elders of the Church had come to be celebrants of a ritual, their presidents ruling bishops. The partition-wall between laics and clerics, that is to say, between the Christian people and its instructors, was constantly rising higher. Yet there still remained the old foundation-lines of constitution and worship. No barrier interposed between God and the soul who sought Him, between the creed of the Church and the Word of God contained in the Gospels and Apostolic writings. That we may not be compelled to adduce on this point what is notorious to all, we will simply content ourselves with directing our readers' attention to the distinctive characteristics which divide the principal phases of the pathological development from each other, during the more than fifteen centuries which have elapsed since that date.

For morbid and pathological we cannot but confess this development to have been, if we are to regard the

religious consciousness of Jesus as the infallible standard, and that of the Apostles and the Churches they founded as that which we are to take for our pattern in essentials. But in that case our review of a course of history extending over more than a millennium and a half will force upon us the grave question, whether in a development which, looking at the facts that lie before us, has evidently on the face of it been a logical one, its onward course has been a progress towards life or towards death?

Thus, speaking in a broad way, no one probably will dispute the fact that the Church of the period between Constantine and Justinian II. (312 A.D. to 692 A.D.) must be termed an Episcopal Church ruled by the hierarchy. But we may perhaps, for the sake of a more distinctive designation, term it the *Church of Bishops and Councils.* For simultaneously with the revolution in the position held by Christianity towards the Roman Empire, there was a general Council, composed exclusively of clerics and almost entirely of Bishops, held at Nicæa, in order to lay down a theological definition of the belief of the Church respecting the Father, Son, and Spirit—a systematic formula of doctrine, which was to be made the rule of faith. This first Council was followed by four other General or Œcumenical Synods (up to 685 A.D.), whose decrees were acknowledged alike by the Eastern and Western Churches; while the decrees of the Council of Constantinople (692 A.D.) respecting canon law and ecclesiastical discipline possessed no authority whatever in the Western Church. The schism was purely one relating to ecclesiastical law; the Popes did not find that the ancient laws or canons of the Church collected by that Council fully supported the claims they put forth. Still it remained an established principle that the Councils were above the Pope.

During the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Episcopal Church of the Councils had gradually grown into a patriarchate, in which at last old and new Rome

came to stand in opposition to each other. In the Eastern Church, Byzantium was at first content to claim an equal rank with Alexandria and Antioch, and all these three Metropolitan Churches endeavoured to convert the influence they naturally exerted over those portions of the empire of which they were the respective capitals into a right to exercise a ruling power, and to force into the background the independent bishoprics and archbishoprics of the other more considerable Churches. It is very intelligible that, owing to the influence of the Imperial Court, the see of Constantinople should constantly more and more exalt itself above the older Metropolitan Churches of the East. While the choice of the Bishops by the laity and the clergy, as prescribed by the ancient laws of the Church, had already come to lie exclusively or predominantly in the hands of the clergy;—in regard to the higher posts the influence of the Emperor and his Court prevailed, and that of the monks, too, had come to be a very appreciable power. The so-called orthodox Eastern Church is in fact the Church of the imperial city, which oppressed the national Churches, such as those of Syria and Armenia, and then branded them with the stigma of heresy. This usurpation has perpetuated itself even in the use of language.

In the West, a similar course of development had resulted in the acquirement of supremacy by Rome since the downfall of the empire in the fifth century. Nevertheless, Gregory the Great comports himself towards the sees of Milan and Aquileia as his equals, while he treats the Bishops belonging to his own province of the empire (Cisalpine Italy, Sicily, and Africa) as his subjects. It was the connection of Rome with the Carlovingian dynasty of the Catholic Franks that first turned the Western Church into a Papal Church. This Church could not fail to become a rising power, for in the West, notwithstanding all the desolation, a fresh young life was stirring, thanks to the infusion of Teutonic blood, while Eastern Christendom,

convulsed by Mahomet, was crumbling to pieces more and more, and assuming Asiatic conditions. In Western Europe, on the contrary, the ancient imperial power entirely collapsed and disappeared, even in Italy, during the course of the eighth century.

The turning-point in the fortunes of the world is marked by the coronation of the Frankish monarch Charlemagne, at St. Peter's, at Rome, at the Christmas festival of the year 800 A.D. With that event begins the Teutonic mediæval period, with its Church, the creature of Popes and Councils. Instead of those earlier Œcumenical Councils, we now find Provincial Councils, presided over by the Popes. The formulating of the Christology was completed, and the various nationalities constructed their own ecclesiastical organization under the guidance of the Popes, with a co-operation on the part of their respective Princes that was rather tolerated than recognized, rather was carried on co-ordinately with that of the Pope as a matter of fact than was admitted to be an organic element.

Now if under the episcopal system even the great Christian communities of the Greeks and Romans had well-nigh vanished before the hierarchy, how much more must this be the case under the Papal system! The isolated Synods could not maintain themselves in opposition to the papal power, which was in every respect an overmatch for them; nay, ofttimes could not sustain themselves without the help of the latter. Already under Charlemagne the Frankish people had no more voice in the decrees of the Council than in the drawing up of the Capitularies. And more especially among the Teutonic tribes, the mass of the Christian laity were from various causes driven into the background. Engaged as they were in the act of transition to Roman civilization, they were quite defenceless against their Roman instructors. They had embraced Christianity when it was already a hierarchical system, with a worship conducted in a foreign

language and with a Latin Bible, from which Franks and Saxons no longer, like the Goths of old, framed a German Bible, but only compiled or invented Gospel harmonies in the mother tongue.

When, in the twelfth century, the civil community had become powerful through the rise of the great cities, and the people began to acquire a culture for themselves, there arose the contest between the Parliamentary Councils and the Popes, who, since Innocent III., at the commencement of the thirteenth century, had proclaimed themselves unlimited sovereigns over Christendom, superior to nations, kings, and emperors. But neither the Councils of Constance nor Basle succeeded in breaking the papal autocracy, because the Councils admitted the hierarchical first principle without acknowledging its final consequence. On the contrary, it became ever plainer how impossible it was to conquer any reform in the organization of the Church without the co-operation of the laity. And at last the Tridentine Council, convened and swayed by those very dynasties which had been compelled by motives of ambition to place themselves in opposition to the principle of congregationalism, set the seal upon the doctrine of the Pope's absolute supremacy over the Church. Whether from this it followed that the Pope possessed legislative authority in matters of faith remained an open question up to our own days. But Pius IX. has practically decided that question by proclaiming on his sole authority a scholastic opinion, which ever since the eleventh century had been disputed by many of the greatest and most pious Fathers of the Latin Church—the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary—to be an essential dogma of the faith!

The revolution thus effected in religious consciousness is not simply an important one, but constitutes a revolution to the positive opposite, even regarded only from the standing-point of the outward historical development, and quite apart from the corresponding results of the

other more strictly spiritual course of development which we shall have to contemplate hereafter.

The chief reasons of this are the two following: First, the active co-operation and the possession of a decisive voice on the part of the whole body of the Church in its various spheres is indispensably necessary to the accomplishment of the divine plan laid down in the Gospel. To prove this it suffices to point to every page of the Gospels, and more particularly those passages which we have quoted in our opening chapter. It is to the whole body of the Christian people that the Spirit of God has been given, and the supreme power of the keys committed. How, then, can the very opposite of this, the complete abrogation of that on which it is based, be a step in the right direction, a development tending to life? We see every fundamental axiom upset, nay, replaced by its contrary, first in practice and afterwards in theory. We find instead of the Christian people a priestly corporation; instead of God's word, contained in the Bible and in the conscience of intelligent men, the spiritual commandments of a sacerdotal guild; instead of a free deliberation of the laity, represented by their delegates, with the ministers and officers of the Church, the most absolute of all despotisms; that which makes itself master of the conscience, and decides upon matters of fact with divine infallibility. And which does this, forsooth, by legitimate right, nay, in virtue of the most sacred of all laws! And this while at the same time incontestable facts bear witness that some of the decrees issued by this absolute authority rest upon fictitious, or, at all events, surreptitiously interpolated ordinances, while many others are based upon a misunderstanding of the documents. In the present state of historical learning there is nothing to adduce for its historical justification but the sentimental phrases of the Romanticists, or sophisms almost as bad set up by some so-called Protestants, who at this time of day have abjured reason and deny the authority

of conscience, without remarking that in so doing they proclaim themselves irrational and unconscientious.

Yet at the same time, even by that priesthood which has practically put itself in the place both of the word of God and of the congregation, the Bible, and especially the Gospel, is acknowledged in theory to be the rule of faith, although the right which the priests claim to be its exclusive interpreters cancels and mocks in effect this admission. Thus, if according to the testimony of history, i. e. according to what we take for our regulative point of departure, the unconditional opposite has been continually developing itself with increasing energy and logical consistency, we are compelled at the point which our inquiry has now reached to ask ourselves the question :—Is not the Christian world even now standing on the edge of a tremendous dilemma, viz., this?—*Either* the moral order of the world is a delusion, the gospel a lie, and religion itself one of the "childish things" which we have outgrown; *or* the development which has logically conducted us to such a point is not a Christian development, not that of the spiritual Kosmos, not that of God, not the path of life, but a wrong path, the way that leadeth unto death.

Thus we see that it is not the Gospel and the Apostles who have planted our feet on the path that leads to a hierarchy. But further, the facts already adduced suffice to prove, Secondly, that neither does the constitution of the Church as it was before the era of Constantine land us in a hierarchical system. Yet this early, justly styled Apostolic Church is nevertheless regarded by all communions as a model, at least in so far that no one will lightly admit that there is any essential antagonism between the condition of his own religious body and the whole manner of life revealed in that Apostolic Church. Least of all will the episcopal communion, which is externally the heir of the ancient Church, be able to make such an admission. And yet in spite of the most strenuous efforts it has been found quite impracticable, nay, with every

step in the progress of enquiry it has become more impossible to demonstrate, or even to render credible and conceivable, that the constitution of sacerdotal absolutism stands in harmony and not in flagrant discord with the development that had taken place during the three centuries prior to Constantine. The chain of proof which was at first rather negative has risen to be an overwhelming mass of positive evidence.

Ought we, then, in our days to hear from a Protestant professor of canon law the doctrine of "the reversal of science" proclaimed with great unction and assurance, coupled with warnings equally directed against historical investigation and philosophical lucubrations, whether the aim intended be to induce us to throw ourselves into the arms of a Protestant Supreme Consistory or of the Papal Church? Is it not, on the contrary, our bounden duty to stimulate the ardour with which we prosecute investigation by the earnestness of our purpose, and to apply the results at which we arrive to practical life? In any case, it appears to us that two facts are established upon incontestable testimony: first, that the development of the constitution of the Church during the last 1,500 years must be admitted to be a logical carrying out of the hierarchical first principle; but then, secondly, that we have in our days arrived at the uttermost consequences of such a system.

One result of our study is the discovery that the halo of sanctity surrounding a close, self-perpetuating hierarchy, endowed with infallibility by the Spirit of God, does not produce an attitude of hostility towards barbarism, or even towards the impiety of infidelity, or the license of despair and vice; but, on the other hand, throughout history we find it setting itself in opposition to a truly divine light, whose purest and brightest rays shine to us from the Gospel itself. We confess that the robe in which the hierarchy has arrayed herself is divine; but does it belong to her? Has it not

rather been stolen from the Church or whole company of believers, to whom the Redeemer committed it with the most exalted promises, and from whom it has been wrested, partly by force, partly by fraud?

"God will not give His glory to another," says the Scripture. Nor, as we have seen, has anyone hitherto presumed to take to himself that glory without being overtaken by the divine judgments.

Now, what under this development and under this constitution has become of the second root-idea of the typical regulative religious consciousness—viz., the cultus—we must now proceed to consider, but as briefly as is compatible with documentary evidence. For it is in this point that we discover the spiritual centre of the tragedy of European society.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE CHURCH'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD EVINCED IN HER WORSHIP.

IN proceeding to the consideration of the second main element of the religious life of the Christian community, we enter the very sanctuary of the mind absorbed in God, the soul seeking the fount of her being, the shrine of communion for universal mankind. All that concerns the cultus, or, to use a better expression, the public worship of God, is wont to inspire even the really worldly and unbelieving with a trembling sentiment of awe. During the celebration of public worship, the Deity is regarded as present in a quite peculiar sense, and the consideration of what constitutes this presence necessarily forms the very centre-point in the sphere of our investigations. Hence we will preface our remarks with a few words of explanation respecting the ecclesiastical formulas which have been used to express men's convictions on this point, which cannot, however, be done without some discussion of those formulas.

We entreat all to remember the following points:— First, it would be no less contrary to history than to psychology to deny that practical religion andthe mode of worship are far less the offspring of the dogmatic system than its parents. Christian piety and devotion, with the forms in which it has clothed itself, are prior to any dogmas. Those forms are the fruit of inward states of mind, which by no means invariably correspond to the efforts of the dogmatic intellect. He who abides already

within the house of God troubles himself less about the steps that lead thither than those do who have erected the steps in order to try and climb into the house. The impulse to adore is native to man, and its earliest stirrings are more ancient than any historical ordinances. But, secondly, it is very important to distinguish in Christianity between what is universal and what is special. The mystery of the soul's connection with the sufferings of Christ is a mighty motive force for worshipping mankind, and the sense of its efficacy is quite independent of dogmatic definitions respecting the mode of its operation. Lastly, the belief that that sense of its divine power is based on a truth, may be retained in the heart in spite of, just as firmly as in consequence of, anything that dogma may affirm concerning what lies beyond the sphere of sentiment. It is, however, certainly a different matter when it is sought to impose the definitions of this external part as the supreme ecclesiastical truth, and to exalt them into a criterion of communion with Christ and God. For in that case the cause is carried before the tribunal of philosophy and research, while the piety of the heart can never be injuriously affected by a free enquiry into truth.

Every theological doctrine (dogma) consists of two elements, which require to be distinguished from each other—namely, on the one side certain theologico-philosophical premisses and assumptions, and on the other some fact held to be revealed which forms their groundwork. When these two are mixed up together it not unfrequently happens that a misconception of the historical fact arises in consequence of some flaw in the purity and clearness of the stream of development; nay, after a given period, the original element of fact is perhaps either no longer known or no longer intelligible in its true shape. But the worst of it is that ofttimes the words remain, while their import is reversed. We will illustrate our meaning by an example. It can be demonstrated, as

we have seen, that all through the earlier centuries the meaning attached to the words—

*Presbyter—Ecclesia—Sacrificium—Sacramentum*

is that of

(Eucharist)

*Elder—Whole body of the faithful—Thank-offering—Vow*

and equally certain that the sense attached to those words in the mediæval church is—

*A sacrificing priest* *A clerical guild* *A propitiatory sacrifice* *A magical act*

It would be equally over-hasty to deny the possibility of such a change, or to affirm that such a transmutation is without significance. But it would be no less unfair to maintain that such a transmutation could only have taken place in consequence of a fraud perpetrated in the interest of hierarchical aims, than it would be to maintain the *a priori* impossibility of such a change, in the face of the historical proof that it has actually taken place. Certainly, in the whole course of history, there is no more complete transmutation recorded than that of the belief in the real presence of God in the hearts of the communicants into the belief in the corporeal presence of God in the host. But both retain the fact of a miracle, and in both that miracle consists in a change of essence. The point at issue is whether that essence is the heart or the host. Alike to the logical thinker and the religious apprehensions of the believing multitude, there is but one dilemma. The truth and reality of God's presence is *either* in the soul *or* in the bread and wine. Now, supposing the former conception to be obscured by the materialising of the fundamental notions concerned in the subject, how can the belief be grasped at all, except at its reverse end, by a community who seem, as it were, doomed by their passion for logical consistency to seize on the external side of things? This may appear to many a strange way of

putting things, but it is none the less historically and philosophically true. The pledge and sign of God's actual presence must reside *somewhere*. If they do not so reside in the believers themselves and their domestic and public life, where else should they be manifested than in the "outward and visible sign" of their fellowship? And what should these signs become but the flesh and blood of Christ? Every intermediate conception is an arbitrary one, equally unsatisfactory to the understanding and to the intuitive religious sentiment. Now, if a transposition (*Metastasis*) of those fundamental ideas did take place, while the belief in the reality of communion with God, and of the transforming efficacy of that communion in the hearts of the believers in it, remained intact—what other result could ensue but that on the suppression of the congregation with its liberties and life, just the diametrically opposite pole should be the more tenaciously grasped out of fear to make shipwreck of faith altogether, and to lose the God whom the soul craves in order to obtain peace? Nay, that which, seen from another point of view, we are compelled to term an abandonment of the faith in Christ, when looked at as a portion of this inevitable progress, may appear to be simply a bounden and honest confession of the belief in an acknowledged divine truth. In a positive philosophy of the religious consciousness, it may, perhaps, prove to be susceptible of demonstration, that this tragical sequence has come to pass in virtue of some divine law of nature, which is just as certain as the law by which bodies advance to decomposition and dissolution, but much clearer, because to be accounted for by the nature of mind. Certainly, to judge by the result to which all our enquiries hitherto have conducted us, we should expect to find that such a transposition and reversal of the meaning attached to fundamental ideas would sooner or later issue in the necessity of a similar diametrical reversal of the proper object and original foundations of the Church's belief. And, in such

a case, Christ would be no longer the object, the Bible no longer the foundation of the Christian faith, even though Christians should desire and intend to make them such. If we are called on to believe in an eternal order of the universe, in Christ as the Redeemer, and in the Holy Ghost as the Life of the company of believers, then the loss of the essential meaning of the terms Father, Son, and Spirit, and of the belief that the Bible constitutes the historical source whereby this Godhead has been revealed to us, cannot but involve the most portentous consequences. For must not the direct personal relation of the individual believer to God (therefore, also, the inward connection between rites and the spirit animating them, between religion and morality) necessarily cease, when, instead of all these divine agencies, a corporation presents itself as the organ through which God speaks to man? Nay, granting that this corporation, or its head, is the sole recipient of the truth, there is scarcely any other course open to it than that of withdrawing the word of God from the Christian people, and imparting to them only so much of it as may seem adapted to their capacities, and in the form prescribed by their superiors.

Now with those whose conscience does not leave them free to engage in a serious historical enquiry, or to maintain their rights as Christians and men to abide by the results of such an enquiry, no rational man will attempt to argue. But the readers for whom we write are those to whom the truth of history is a sacred thing; the history of God's divine dealings with mankind the most sacred of all things; and an acquaintance with these the most important of all objects for their souls' peace. When this is the case, it comes to the same thing whether we start from a belief in a body of men infallibly inspired by the Holy Ghost, or from the belief in the letter of the Bible and its history. In a question of history, what we have to discover is facts, the connection these facts can be shown to have with each other, and their bearing upon

conscience and reason. Our respective starting-points may differ entirely, and are often accidental, but from all of us may be demanded a sincere striving after our common aims, for these are no other than truth and salvation.

After these preliminary observations we shall, therefore, fearlessly proceed to the characterization of the epochs in the transmutation to which we have adverted, referring to documentary evidence in behalf of the decisive facts. With regard to many details we must be allowed to refer to the fuller accounts given in "Hippolytus and his Age," vols. i. and ii. In that work, too, will be found the liturgical monuments of the Eastern and Western Churches up to the eighth century, which are there for the first time critically set forth according to their historical order.[1]

We have seen during the preceding age of the Church how the commemorative meal gradually came to be a portion of the public worship, and was brought into connection with the thanksgiving and ascription of praise which formed the consecration of the worshippers in the morning service. The conception of the Christian sacrifice was and remained altogether distinct from the celebration of the Lord's Supper as such. The prayer of consecration that had taken its rise from the ancient Jewish "grace before meat," on which Christ had conferred a new and exalted significance, was left to the free utterance of the minister, but always ended with the Lord's Prayer, and the latter sufficed by itself for the benediction. The hallowed custom still continued of singing a hymn of praise after partaking of the elements. This also was an ancient Jewish usage. The remaining prayers, whether before or after the rite, formed part of the ordinary divine service. This was notably the case with the intercessory prayer commanded by the Apostle for the whole "people of God scattered over the earth," and for all men. As in such a prayer much that was local and special would naturally occur to the mind of the speaker, this is one of the first

[1] "Analecta Ante-Nicæna."

respecting which we find standing formularies. This is the case in the Church of Alexandria, as we see from Origen's references to it. When, once for all, the most fitting mode of expression has been found for things of this kind, it is very advisable to use it as a set form, although with a certain degree of license in practice, for by this means the sense of the bond by which the Christians of all generations and all ages are linked together in the Church is brought home to the hearts of the worshippers.

Now the character of the common public worship remained externally such as we have described it during the fourth century, or the period extending from the beginning of Constantine's reign to the death of Theodosius the Great —the age of two great liturgical authorities, Basil and Chrysostom. The liturgical ordinances which bear the names of these two Fathers, and which, with very considerable additions made during the eighth and ninth centuries, form the ground-work of the ritual of the Byzantine Churches, did not really come into existence till the fifth century. In the genuine writings of these two great theologians we have the most irrefragable proof for the assertion, that in their time the Prayer of Consecration before partaking of the elements still continued to be a perfectly free prayer of the officiating minister, in which the only essential was to invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the worshippers and upon the elements destined for the sacred meal. The blessing pronounced upon the congregation, however, has reference to the renewed vow of the assembled believers to consecrate their life to the service of God and the brethren. Here, then, we have the primitive religious consciousness of the Church. That no celebration took place without a communion of the congregation was a matter of course. But Chrysostom complains in one of his sermons that the assembled people did not, as formerly, invariably partake of the Lord's Supper, but sometimes only looked on to see how the clergy collected round the

Lord's Table communicated with each other. Thus, towards the end of the fourth century, the curse which attends the deadening of the sense of Church membership is already perceptible in the very central point of the common worship. On this crucial question the course stood open to the Church to have separated the perpetual thank-offering of the Christians—which must form the solemn act of the redeemed to the end of the world—from a rite which has no meaning when there are no participants in it. But the contrary course was adopted. The elements of both rites, the sacrifice of praise, and the Lord's Supper were so intimately bound up together in the now crystallized and prescribed liturgy, the guild of the clergy already had so completely usurped the place of the congregation, that, in obedience to the fatal tendency urging on the development, the communion of the clergy came to be celebrated without the participation of the laity. Still this was done with express lamentations over the change, and no doubt with scarcely any perception of the consequences that would follow almost of necessity.

During the *fifth* century the obscuration of the fundamental ideas of Christian worship was intensified by the multiplication of liturgical formulas and read prayers; while step by step with the decline in the intellect of the age the conception of sacrifice grew more and more materialistic. And how should it be otherwise, when the Church at large, which was consecrated by Christ the sole depositary of man's consciousness of the most intimate and most exalted presence of God in Humanity and in the universe, was more and more driven into the background in every respect,- and especially in regard to its participation at the Lord's table? The outward act remained, but from being an act of the whole Church, it became an act of the clergy—thus to the congregation in general, a representative transaction, a sacred drama. This very naturally led to a decoration of the outward ceremony by mysticism; that is to say, by a fanatical and

therefore arbitrary treatment of it. When the true mystery of the reality—the soul's consciousness of God—is obscured, a false mystery must needs take its place; for a mystery Mind ever is to Nature, and hence man seeks that mystery, either within or outside himself, because in the very depths of his being he is conscious of the distinctness of Mind from Nature, of the Eternal from the Transitory.

All the more remarkable is a classical passage in St. Augustine's "City of God" (x. 6.), which we have given in "Hippolytus" in the original, with explanations.[1]

A true sacrifice is every work which is done in order that we may be united with God in holy communion, since it is performed with a reference to that benefit through which we may become truly blessed. . . But, moreover, we are recommended by the Apostle to perform such works in this spirit,[2] 'I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." How much more, then, is the soul a sacrifice when she surrenders herself wholly to God, that she may be inflamed by the Divine love, and so lose the form of earthly desires, being transformed by her subjection to Him, who is Himself, as it were, the unchangeable form, and become pleasing to Him by reason of that which she has received of His beauty. . . . From this it undoubtedly follows that *the whole redeemed Church* (*civitas*), i. e. the whole company and communion of the saints (or believers), *is offered to God* as a whole-offering, by the High Priest, who in His sufferings offered Himself for us under the form of a servant, that we might constitute a fit body for such a head. Because it is this servant's form that He sacrificed, therefore is He also offered under this form, because he is thus the Mediator, therefore is He in that sacrifice at once the priest and the victim.

Thus Augustine knows only one actual sacrifice, viz. the free surrender of our own will and life; that is to

[1] "Analecta Ante-Nicæna." [2] Rom. xii. 1.

say, he assumes that to be the true sacrifice which is the only sacrifice recognized by the Gospel and our own religious consciousness. The prototype of this self-surrender is the sacrifice offered by Christ in his life and in his death. Hence, as every man is a priest, so is Christ the High Priest; and as every man offers himself, and thus may be called at the same time priest and victim, Christ is the eternal victim, being the head of the body, whose members are the believers, that is to say, redeemed mankind. In the human "servants' form" [1] are both sacrifices offered, therefore, by human beings.

All this is said in reference to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and the consequent high-priestly function sustained by Him towards the Church, without any allusion whatever to the Lord's Supper. It is only after he has set forth this connection between our sacrifice of grateful love and the sufferings of Jesus, of which it forms the completion (or "filling up"), that Augustine adds in conclusion:—

> This is the sacrifice of the Christians who are all one body in Christ. And this the Church celebrates continually in the Sacrament of the Altar, which the believers know. They learn at this feast that they, *the Church, are themselves offered in that which they offer.*

That is to say, the act which the Church performs when, in the rite of the Lord's Supper, she offers up the bread and wine (in conformity with the then still universal custom of oblation), is an outward sign and symbol of the proper inward act; namely, that those present offer up themselves in the renewal of their vow of thankful self-surrender. The sacrifice of bread and wine God willeth not, but the offering of a thankful, submissive, pious heart, with its vow; and the mere symbol thereof is nothing in itself or only evil. We find, also, similar forms and the same leading idea in the order prescribed

[1] See Phil. ii. 6-9.

for this rite belonging to the middle of the fifth century, a product of the age of Leo the Great, which we are able to distinguish within the Gregorian Canon, which dates from the close of the sixth century.[1] But by that time, the Prayer of Consecration has already become a prescribed form much more ritualistic than spiritual in its character, and the reference to the external act of the oblation and to the elements themselves is brought out in strong relief, while the worshipping assembly and their vow, with its effect on the heart, are thrown as much into the shade. The oblation was beginning to be turned into a symbolical act of the priest, and, like the elements themselves, to have a mystical sense attached to it in proportion as the living idea that animated the rite became obscured.

Nor must we on this point overlook the influence of two other circumstances. We refer to the dogmatic elaboration of the doctrine respecting the person of Christ effected by the six great Councils, and the introduction of the worship of the saints, especially the Virgin Mary, which already in the eighth century comes out very markedly.

That dogmatic definition of the notion of the Father, Son, and Spirit which on the one side had resulted from the fading vitality of the Church and the dimming of its true conception, could not fail on the other to exert an effect on the relative position of the cultus and the life. The confounding of the Eternal with the Finite, which already in early times betrayed itself in the failure to distinguish between the conception of the Eternal Word as an antithesis of Being and Thought, seated in the Eternal Himself, and that of the manifestation of this power "by which the worlds were made" in the person of Jesus of Nazareth,—and the confounding of both these conceptions with the historical tradition respecting the Jewish Messias (Christ), has an intimate connection with that practical

[1] See "Analecta," vol. iii., Liturgica.

tendency to place the inward life of the spirit on a level with the mere utterance of the vow in the outward worship. And again, the forcible imposition of the paradoxes necessarily resulting from this unskilful handling of metaphysical notions as holy mysteries of faith, could not fail to overcloud the clear perception of the Divine Presence in the hearts of the worshipping community, and more and more to interpose a lifeless formulary between the Soul and the Gospel. A lifeless Christology, with no corresponding anthropology, was paralysing the vitality of the most sacred of all rites, namely, the idea of sacrifice, —the root-idea of all worship.

Still more patent to view is the influence which the adoration of the saints must inevitably exert in weakening the sense of the need of personal redemption through Christ alone, and none beside. And this again tended to enthrone in the place of the eternal mystery, the conventional traditional mystery, the "sacrament," to use the phraseology of the Western Church. In like manner that first postulate of Christianity, the belief in the Eternal, could not but be enfeebled by the worship paid to the saints.

We may perhaps sum up the argument of this first act of the great Christian tragedy by saying:—

*The rite of communion remains, as heretofore, the central idea of the celebration of the Lord's Supper; but this latter is now inseparably bound up with the Church's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and takes place even when there are no communicants beside the clergy. The liturgy has become a fixed form: free prayer has vanished from Divine service.*

Already in the beginning of the ninth century, the rite of the Lord's Supper had, to the religious consciousness of the Church at large, assumed the aspect of a purely representative act performed by the clergy, insomuch that Alcuin (or some contemporary of this friend of Charlemagne) propounds the question: "Wherefore, then, is the

presence of one or more clerics beside the officiating priest essential to the celebration?" We can perceive from his attempt to answer this question that the fundamental idea was still retained in men's minds. They were still aware that this rite had originally been one in which the whole congregation participated, and that this was what was meant by the presence of communicating clerics. But the clear perception of this dies out in proportion as the conception of the congregation dies out, whose highest function was here to be performed.

Thus the practices that had resulted from the obscuration of the religious consciousness gradually paved the way for the introduction of the "private mass" as the private act of the officiating priest. And whereas a philosophic comprehension of the rite was rendered impossible by the transposition of its fundamental ideas, the new practice next gives birth to a still less defensible theory, viz. the doctrine that it is not the *communion*,—i. e. the common partaking of the meal,—but the *consecration*, which is the essential part of the rite. Pregnant with fatal consequences was it, moreover, that the particular form which the Roman "order of the mass"—the use of which was becoming daily more and more universal—assumed in the Gregorian Canon, facilitated the addition of a second misconception of no less magnitude. In the ancient Church, and also in the Western, "consecration" is the title given to the prayer supplicating the descent of the Spirit upon the worshippers and the elements. In consequence of the great abbreviation of the formulary for this prayer, and the externalization of its subject-matter, the whole emphasis of the transaction came to be placed, not only on this point, which was rendered still more conspicuous by the visible elevation of the elements about to receive the benediction, but precisely upon that which was properly nothing more than the customary passage of Scripture employed to introduce the prayer of consecration; namely, the words reciting the institution of the Lord's

Supper. This completed the transition to a magical rite. The consummation of the transaction consisted in the pronouncing of these words, not even in the prayer itself, still less in that for which the prayer was merely the preface and preparation, like the grace before meat for the family repast. Here too, however, the change took place in the first instance simply in virtue of the influence exerted by the form of the ceremony; thus was the fruit of the practice, not of the thought,—the dogma. But the next step was that about the middle of the ninth century a learned controversy broke out respecting the seat of the Real Presence of the Divine Spirit in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which displays the whole scope of the transformation that had gradually come to pass in the fundamental conception of that rite, together with the confusions, paradoxes, and contradictions that had sprung up in consequence. We will, according to our usual custom, lay before our readers a few decisive passages on this point from the writings of the principal combatants, two learned priests—the monk Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corveaux, and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence. The former, to whom the natural birth of Jesus from Mary did not seem sufficiently divine and miraculous, and who wished to set up instead an unnatural delivery of the child from the womb, says as follows:—

We are bound to believe that after consecration the bread and wine are nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ. The flesh is no other than that which was born of Mary, which suffered on the cross, and which rose again from the grave. . . Now as it is not permissible to devour Christ by the teeth, He was minded that in this mystery bread and wine should, by the consecration of the Holy Ghost, be potentially created into His flesh and blood, and in virtue of this creation should be daily offered for the life of the world after a mystical fashion, to the end that, just as by the influence of the Holy Ghost true flesh was generated in the womb of the Virgin without the aid of man, so by the same Holy Ghost that same body and that same blood should be consecrated in mystical wise out of the *substance* of

the bread and wine. And of this flesh and blood has He said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."

We see from this that the doctrine of transubstantiation has not as yet assumed its full proportions in the hands of Paschasius. The central point of his view is the *Real Presence in the consecrated elements*, as had been shown by Lessing's researches, which were afterwards confirmed by the discovery of the original text. Now, against this view, which they regard in the light of an innovation, Rabanus Maurus and Ratramnus, a learned monk of Corveaux, enter the lists. Rabanus, who more especially relies for support on the literal and distinct declarations of Ambrose and Augustine, says, for instance:—

The Lord designed that through a visible work an invisible effect should be produced. For as the corporeal food nourishes the body outwardly, and makes it grow, so does the Word of God nourish and strengthen the soul inwardly. The sacrament is one thing, the efficacy of the sacrament another. For the sacrament is eaten by the mouth; but by the efficacy of the sacrament is the inward man fed. The sacrament is made use of to the nourishment of the body; but by the virtue of the sacrament do we attain to eternal life. . . . The two visible signs, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, are transmuted into the sacrament of the Divine Body.

In expounding the words of Jesus in the sixth chapter of St. John, Rabanus borrows the words of Augustine, who says:[1]—

In these words Christ seems to be commanding a horrible and criminal act. Thus his language is to be taken figuratively, and commands us that we should participate in the sufferings of the Lord, and should, by a bodily act, cherish to our edification the remembrance that for us his flesh was crucified and given.

Ratramnus, his contemporary, defends this view with yet greater philosophical acumen, and in a truly evangelical spirit, in a report which Charles the Bald had

[1] *De Doct. Christ.* iii. 16.

required him to draw up, and which for a long time was generally attributed to Scotus Erigena. And finally this subject was treated by the latter great Irish scholar from the standing-point of a yet deeper religious consciousness, though we must indeed confess that the religious thought of this writer, who was by far the greatest speculative mind of his age, had forfeited to some extent its intellectual clearness, owing partly to the influence of a mystical hierarchical work, really composed in the fifth century, but attributed to Paul's convert, Dionysius the Areopagite; partly also to a tendency that Erigena displays towards that pantheistic conception of the Deity which regards Him as the eternally creative, uncreated logical *Nought*; and more than all to the absence of any living familiarity with the conditions of the Church prior to Constantine. It was incorrect to attribute that work of Ratramnus to the share taken by Erigena's pen in the controversy, but it was still more incorrect to deny, as has been done in recent times, that Erigena did take part in this contest, and on the side of Ratramnus. Ravaisson's most welcome publication of the deplorably scanty fragments which are all that remains to us of the Commentary of Erigena,[1] leaves no doubt that although it was an entire mistake to suppose him the author of Ratramnus' work, yet it was a mistake resting on very plausible grounds.[2] Unhappily in the only (almost contemporary) MS. we possess, the Prologue to St. John's Gospel and all that follows Chapter vi. verse 14, in which the principal text on which the controversy turns must have been discussed, is missing; and it can hardly have been so by accident. But in the part which remains we find the following passage in commenting on John i. verse 35: "Behold the Lamb of God," &c.:—

[1] These fragments have been incorporated by Floss in the excellent edition of the writings of Erigena which he has contributed to the great patristic collection of Migne.

[2] See *Floss*, S. 311.

This is the altogether unique Lamb, the mystical one, in type of which the Israelitish people offered yearly a lamb in every house at the Feast of Passover. And we, too, who have believed on him since his incarnation, sufferings, and resurrection, and, so far as is permitted to us, understand his mysteries, do offer him up spiritually, and eat him spiritually, in our hearts. Every true believer in Christ is also crucified with him in proportion to the nature and degree of his spiritual virtue, and crucifies Christ for himself, namely, as a fellow-sufferer. . . For each will have a belief in Christ through the growth of his understanding of Christ, in proportion to the degree of inward virtue to which he attains, and will be led up thereby from a lower view of Christ to a higher vision of the Godhead. On this wise does Christ die in them and with them daily.

We can form some idea from this of the mode in which Erigena will have explained the sixth chapter of this Gospel; namely, in the spirit of the Alexandrine Fathers, of whom he may be said to be the intellectual successor, though with some diminution of the spiritual enlightenment of that pre-Constantinian period, owing to the ignorance that darkened, and the burden of spurious writings and interpolations that weighed upon, the age in which he lived.

Moreover, this passage scarcely leaves us a doubt that in the fragments of a treatise on the Eucharist, discovered by Ravaisson at Avranches in 1840, we really possess a leaf of the dissertation which Erigena composed for Charles the Bald, that had been torn off and thus saved before the time when Berengarius was compelled to commit the work publicly to the flames as a production of the Evil Spirit. The handwriting of this leaf is that of the eleventh century, and Taillandier has decided quite rightly, when, in his talented work on Scotus Erigena (1843), he gives in his adhesion to the opinion of Ravaisson.[1]

[1] *Scotus Erigène*, p. 71 sq. The text is to be found in Appendix ii. p. 325 sq. Cf. Ravaisson's "*Rapport au Ministre*," 1841, p. 372. See Appendix A.

This fragment, which is omitted by Floss, is as follows:—

It should be remembered that in that bread it is not only the body of Christ, but also the body of His believing people (the Church) that is symbolized to our senses. For this reason is it prepared out of many grains of wheat, forasmuch as the body of the believing Church is multiplied for the believers through the word of Christ. Now as that bread is called, not corporeally but spiritually, the body of the believers, so also must the expression "the body of Christ" be understood not corporeally but spiritually. So again water is mixed with the wine, and the one may not be offered without the other, because the Church can no more be conceived without Christ, nor Christ without the Church, than the head without the body or the body without the head. In that sacrament the water is an emblem of the Church. Now if the wine consecrated by the ministers (*ministri*) is changed (*convertitur*) corporeally into the blood of Christ, then must the water likewise present equally be changed corporeally into the blood of the believing Church. For where there is *one* consecration there must also be *one* effect, and where there is the same act performed the same mystery must follow. Now we see, however, that, with regard to the water, no corporeal change takes place. The water, which is the sensible emblem of the Church, is taken in a spiritual sense, and therefore also that which is signified by the wine regarding the blood of Christ ought to be spiritually understood.

Further, that which is distinguished from something else is not the same thing. The body of Christ which died and rose again is immortal, and not subject to pain. That which is reverenced in the sacrament of the Church is temporal, not eternal—corruptible, not incorruptible; it is on the way towards its home, not in its home. Therefore the two things are different, consequently not the same. Now if they are not the same thing, how can [those symbols] be the true body and the true blood of Christ? For we have seen that that which claims to be the true body of Christ must be incorruptible and eternal. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the bread which is broken in order to be eaten, after it has been crushed by the teeth is assimilated into the body.

But that which takes place outwardly is one thing, that which is conceived by faith another. The former is corruptible, the

latter incorruptible. What is visible outwardly is not the thing itself, but an image of the thing. Hence St. Augustine, too, says in his commentary on that passage in St. John's Gospel,[1] concerning the flesh and blood of Christ, "Whoso there spiritually desired and ate the manna was spiritually created anew, and is not dead. So also do we in like manner now-a-days receive [in the Lord's Supper] a visible food, but the sacrament [the bread and wine] is one thing, the efficacy of the sacrament another." And further on he says again, "Those things (the manna, the cloud, &c.) were sacraments (*like* ours), differing in the signs, similar in the thing which by them is signified [*significatur*]." Hear what the Apostle says, "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptised unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they all drank of that Spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."[2]

In this extract it is not alone the style and the attitude towards Augustine which resemble what we find in the other writings of Erigena, but the conception of the sacrament is the same which we have found in St. Augustine's Commentary on St. John. It is the horizon of the ninth century, in the aspect which it presented to the mind of the wonderful Erigena.

Poor Rabanus! What will the testimony of the great African saint of the fifth century avail thee? For since his time the very semblance of the worshipping Christian people, the Church, which is the depositary of the Real Presence, has disappeared, with the oblation of the bread and wine on the part of the congregation; the last shadow of the great act of the believing mind, which that congregation is bound to perform in worship as in life,—the thankful self-oblation of believing mankind! Nay, will not thy opponents be able to produce other passages from Augustine in which even he seems to substitute the false mysticism of materialistic conceptions for the eternal

[1] Ch. vi. [2] 1 Cor. x. 1.

mysticism of the believing heart? For in his day the ascendency of the outward, symbolical, allusive element in public worship was already too powerful for him, so that even his profound intellect suffered from the fact that the Church at large had retired into the background behind the domineering episcopate, with its despotic Synods. And what will thy fine-spun logic avail thee, poor Erigena? Radbertus will not be silenced; the majority of both Laity and Bishops have decided in his favour, and in that of the most extreme materialistic view. And with perfect logical consistency. The tragedy in which thou art entangled, and the whole Christian world with thee is doomed to remain entangled for centuries, if not for a millennium, has a much deeper ground than the dullness or malice of thy adversaries, or the ambiguous declarations of the great Bishop of Hippo! All religion,—therefore above all the true religion—has for its corner-stone the belief in the reality of the presence of the Deity in human affairs. No image, no semblance, does the spirit crave when seeking God. What the human heart demands is a real sacrifice —a real, perpetual, living transaction,—a Divine centre for the presence of God. Nothing but that which is either the most inward or the most outward of all things can satisfy this craving. But in the age we are considering, the former had long since lost its depositary, its organ. And when this organ, which is the true subject of the religious consciousness, disappears from view, men lose with it the key to any comprehension of the Real Presence itself. Nor until that organ has been recovered, and recognized by the popular heart in all its Divine truth and power, not as a mere fantasy or vague feeling, but as the most substantial of all truths, will the worshipping mind be able to find a resting-place for its foot when it once steps beyond the sanctuary of the inward speechless chamber of the heart into the fields of contemplative thought. Where, for the Church at large, is the true seat of the Deity, if not in its symbol—therefore here in the bread, in the Host?

We shall next see how the theological controversy which broke out two centuries later between Berengarius, the head of the theological school of Tours, and Lanfranc, the head of the Norman school at Bec (afterwards Primate of England), assumed the shape of a dispute respecting the Real Presence in the Host. Berengarius was defeated by his wily, fanatical adversary, who supported his fanatical view with cunning sophistries, in three Synods held between 1050 and 1079 A.D., and at last submitted to sign an ambiguous formulary, in order to escape being torn to pieces by the infuriated populace. At the second Lateran Council more especially, he was on the very point of being condemned to a violent death, notwithstanding the fact that he had the most powerful man and energetic character of the age for his friend and steadfast defender, in the monk Hildebrand, then Cardinal-priest, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. All that Lessing had divined from the original documents respecting the real conditions of this controversy has been confirmed since by the still more important records which have come to light.[1] Here are the confessions and explanations of Berengarius. When, in the first instance, called upon to state his opinions by several of the French bishops, he appeased them, at any rate apparently, by his oral and written confession (1054) that, "After the consecration the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ." On the first Council held in Rome, in 1059 A.D., where Cardinal Humbert guided all the deliberations and drew up the report, Berengarius was induced, as he himself confesses, by the fear of death to give a tacit consent to the following confession of faith drawn up by his opponent and laid before him :—

I, Berengarius, agree with the holy Roman Church in holding that the bread and wine which are placed on the Altar are, after the consecration has been performed, not only a

[1] See Appendix B.

sacrament, but also the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that [this body] is after a *sensible* [sensualiter], and not merely after a *sacramental* fashion, but *in truth is touched and broken by the hands of the priest, and crushed by the teeth of the faithful*: and to this I swear by the most holy Trinity!

Every one knew how much such a declaration was worth, and so the theological contest raged afresh. In his epistle to Adelmann, Berengarius declares, referring to St. Augustine's words in the tenth Book of his "*Civitas Dei*:"—

It stands fast that the true body of Christ is on the altar placed before the inner man on a spiritual wise [*spiritualiter*], in order that here the true body of Christ, which is neither subject to perish, nor yet to be touched or crushed, should be spiritually eaten; but only by those who are members of Christ. This the Fathers openly preach. They do not conceal that flesh and blood are one thing, and the sacrament of the Body and Blood another. Both, they say, the believing receive; the sacraments visibly, but the essence of the sacrament [*rem sacramenti*] invisibly, whereas the ungodly receive only the sacraments. That, however, the sacrament is nevertheless in a certain sense the thing or essence itself, of which the sacraments are signs, we are commanded to think by the general consent and general authority of the Church [*universa ratio et universa auctoritas*].

The meaning of this he tells us more plainly in another passage, as follows:—

It is figuratively that the bread placed upon the Altar is called after the consecration His body and the wine His blood, just as when we say, "Jesus Christ is the great corner-stone."

In relating the transactions we have referred to, he says:—

My cause, or rather the cause of holy Scripture, stood thus: The bread and wine at the Lord's table are not to be taken after a sensual, but after a spiritual fashion [*intellectualiter*]; not as though a subtraction [of matter] took place, but an addition [of Divine power]. They are not converted into a little morsel of flesh, but into the sum total of the body and blood of Christ.

When Hildebrand became Pope, in 1073 A.D., he attempted to save Berengarius by a more moderate statement of faith. He believed firmly in the orthodoxy of Berengarius, and was confirmed in this belief by the vision granted to a pious monk with whom he was intimate, who had been assured by the Blessed Virgin that Berengarius' opinion was orthodox. The formula proposed by Hildebrand was as follows:—

I confess that the bread upon the Altar is, after the consecration, that true body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the cross, which sits on the right hand of God, and that the consecrated wine of the Altar is the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ.

But Gregory VII. yielded to the prevailing opinion of the Council, according to which Berengarius was compelled to swear:—

The bread and wine of the Altar become, by the repeating of the sacred prayer and the words of our Redeemer, substantially [*substantialiter*] converted into the true, proper, and life-giving flesh and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, and are, after the consecration, that true body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, which hung on the cross for the salvation of the world, and which sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and the true blood of Christ which flowed out of his side. And moreover they are so not in virtue of the symbols and efficacy of the sacrament, but in the properties of their nature and the truth of their substance.

Berengarius afterwards declared that he had accepted the "*Substantialiter*," understanding it thus: without prejudice to its substance (*salva sua substantia*), that the bread in itself did not lose what it was, but gained somewhat that it was not. But, dissatisfied himself with this explanation, he afterwards retracted his confession entirely, and died in silent retirement on an island near Tours.

A false assumption, be it concerning historical facts or concerning the mode in which they are related to thought, is equally capable with its opposite, a true assumption, of

being logically pursued into its last extreme results. Both reach their goal; only that the logical working out of the latter conducts along the path of natural development to self-consistent truth, the former along the path of pathological development to the opposite conclusion; the one issues in life, the other in death. Thus in the course of the twelfth century, that theory, according to which the highest presence of God is concealed in the host, and acts there as the present deity (*præsens numen*), obtained so general an acceptance in the scholastic theology that the triumph of the opposite theory in the development of the following centuries could not be doubtful. The Eastern Church, however, did not share in the subsequent pathological development, though it remained little more than the mummy of the Christology of the eighth century. And even in the twelfth century there were still many of the most learned and pious teachers of the Western Church who sustained their inward sense of divine things against the scholastic passion for drawing all possible inferences, and against the formulas to which this passion gave birth. To these belongs the great and holy *Bernard of Clairvaux*, who says in his sermon for Maundy Thursday:—

> Sacrament is the name given to a holy symbol, a holy mystery. A ring may be given as a ring, and signify nothing more; but as conveying an inheritance it is a symbol. The ring thus given has no value whatever; its value lies in the inheritance which I sought for. So has our Lord in his mercy the night before he suffered taken care for the recompensing of his own, that the invisible grace might be imparted through the medium of a visible sign. To this end have all the sacraments been ordained, such as the partaking of the Eucharist, the washing of the feet, and lastly Baptism, the beginning of all the sacraments.

Reflections of this kind were very pious and beautiful, but to what could they lead in the face of the historical, exegetical, and ecclesiastical postulates, from which all

argument started, or the rank which was accorded to the rite of the mass? The pious heart of the people could not but seek the present Deity in that which appeared to be the crowning point of the common worship, and around which its devoutest emotions clustered. We may, perhaps, thus formulate the conception of the Divine Presence held by the Church during this second period:

*The Real Presence enters into the Host in virtue of the recital of the words of consecration, and it is in the elements in such a fashion that it must be conceived as indwelling and inseparable from those elements. But as to* HOW *this takes place no clear idea has as yet been formed.*

It was not until the middle of the twelfth century that the scholastic theology, in logical pursuance of the generally received assumptions, began to raise the question, In what mode do the words of consecration operate that change by which the presence of God is brought about? *Peter Lombard*, "the Master of Sentences," enumerates the various philosophical opinions on this point. According to some, the substance remains; bread and flesh are both present. But in that case it is evidently no complete conversion, no real transubstantiation. The only alternative, therefore, left open to us is to say that the old substance is done away with, and nothing but its outward properties (or accidents) remain, which moreover do not adhere in the new substance. Where bread was before, there is now the body of Christ. Here, certainly, we encounter the thorny question: What, then, becomes of the former substance? To this Peter Lombard gives two answers: either the old substance is dissolved into the four elements or it is absolutely annihilated. Thus this schoolman evidently rejects the theory mentioned above. He was supported by Pope Innocent III. in his book: "On the Mysteries of the Mass;" and in 1215, the fourth Lateran Council, held shortly before the death of Innocent III., exalted the theory there promulgated to the rank of a dogma of the Church, without, however, committing itself

to his various scholastic definitions. The decree passed by this Council may be thus summed up :—

In virtue of the power conferred on the Church by Christ, bread and wine are transubstantiated into flesh and blood by means of the formula of consecration pronounced by a priest. We receive thereby that of His, which He received of ours (in the incarnation). Thus the priest makes the Sacrament (*sacerdos conficit sacramentum*), and this is the union with Christ in the Church, without which no man can be saved.

According to this, the redeeming, joy-bestowing presence of God resides in the transubstantiated bread and wine, since they have become the true body and blood of Christ, whereby we are redeemed. Therefore there can be no salvation outside the Church, for she alone makes that whereby the sacrament saves us.

Thus, after the promulgation of this decree, that opinion triumphed according to which only the accidents remain, without any corresponding substance. Peter Lombard rejects every mitigation of the doctrine that the original substance is annihilated; therefore, among others, the opinion that besides the accidents of the bread its substantial form likewise still remains. And undoubtedly he was perfectly right in so doing, for it is only by stretching it to its utmost limits, that a theory in direct conflict with the laws of nature and resting on thoroughly mistaken philosophical and historical assumptions, can find any stable basis. Equally logical is the answer given by Pope Innocent III. to the question, Whether a mouse who should nibble the consecrated Host would swallow a substance; or the fire that should reduce the Host to ashes would destroy a substance? He affirms, without hesitation, that as the substance disappears by a miracle, so also is it restored by a miracle.[1]

Are we not here compelled to say that the real miracle stands in contradiction to its anti-natural counterfeit;[2] the true mystery of the transubstantiation of the Self through the

[1] "Wunder." [2] "Mirakel." See Note to Book vi. ch. iv. Fifth Thesis.

offering up of the selfish will to the transubstantiation of a material object? Not to take into account at all that in this transmutation the wine and the blood are not included in the formula, which only has regard, strictly speaking, to the bread and flesh. From the given metaphysical starting point all the rest follows quite logically. So, for instance, the withdrawal of the cup from the laity was a perfectly inevitable deduction.

The institution of the festival of Corpus Christi—which from A.D. 1264 was included, with those of Whitsuntide and Holy Trinity, among the number of feasts to be universally observed by the Church—introduced this scholastic definition into the very heart of Church life, and made it palpable to the religious conscience of the laity at large. In the same century occurs the prescribing of a particular "*Offertorium*," which had been previously quite unknown to the Gregorian Order, for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The old oblation of bread and wine on the part of the communicants had long since been discontinued, but there had still remained various allusions both to that practice and to the common partaking of the elements by those present, which took place immediately after the consecration. The mediæval "*Offertorium*," however, was the production of the two powerful orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and it treats this festival altogether as a rite which is the act of the priest, and whose centre and significance lies in the pronouncing of the words of consecration. Lastly, it was in this century too, that the laity were for the first time forbidden to possess a Bible or even a New Testament in the mother-tongue, which alone was intelligible to them. This prohibition begins with the decree of Gregory IX. at the Synod of Toulon, in 1229. That it was by no means a question of heretical translations is proved not only by the terms of that decree, but also by the general practice. For instance, in 1478, Ferdinand and Isabella commanded the Spanish translation of Boniface Ferrer,

brother of St. Vincent Ferrer, to be committed to the flames.

This rendered it all the more inevitable that in practice the opinion should gain ground, that in the participation in the "Sacrifice of the Church" lay the propitiatory sacrifice for all mankind. The early Christian ages, together with the Scriptures, placed that sacrifice in the sufferings and death of Christ (deriving their view more especially from the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews), and in the participation of the believers in these sufferings by means of thankful remembrance and sincere endeavour to follow after Christ's pattern. The atoning sacrifice of the full-blown scholastic system, on the contrary, was a sacerdotal, mediatorial act of the clergy, the benefits of which were applicable to the living and the dead. Certainly, this latter inference is beset with the greatest difficulties, no less on the theoretical than on the practical domain. For if that be accepted, what becomes of the atoning sacrifice of Christ? And, not to speak of the Bible and the ancient Fathers, what becomes of the language of the Canon of the Mass, which speaks only of the offering of praise? The practice of making atonements for the souls in purgatory rose to a more dangerous height than it had attained even during the Crusades, in consequence of the decree of Boniface VIII.,[1] by which in 1300 he extended the doctrine of dispensing pardons to the future life. Thus the indulgence was no longer a mere question of the remission of temporal penalties inflicted by the Church, which therefore, at the worst, could not endure beyond the space of a generation, but of the remission of penalties beyond the grave by means of masses for the dead. This decree opened the eyes of really pious and God-fearing people to the terrible danger that with every onward step in the path now pursued, religion would lose more and more

[1] This was the Pope of whom Dante says, referring to the proclamation of the thousand years' remission of sins at the Jubilee of the year 1300:

"Who pays the world in spurious, worthless coin."

of what moral power still remained to her. It is clear that this sentiment was shared by many earnest Christian men, particularly among the German divines at the General Councils held at Constance and Basle. But at neither of these Councils were questions of this nature so much as brought under deliberation, and the result of those Councils simply went to prove that on the path the Church had chosen it was only possible to her to go forward, but not to retrace her steps. Thus during these four centuries, the development of dogma respecting the Real Presence had advanced so far that it may, perhaps, be thus formulated:

*It is established that the highest seat of God's Presence is in the consecrated Host, which it inhabits with indwelling efficacy, by means of the sanctifying transubstantiation* (not of the self-seeking heart into a heart devoted to the brethren and the cause of God's kingdom, but) *of the matter of the bread into the sacramental Body of Christ, through the communion of which Body, souls are saved in the Church.*

Thus we have here a solemn acknowledgment of the perpetual sacrifice of Humanity, but that sacrifice is made a ritualistic act, external to the man, and accomplishing itself in a material substance. What was the nature of this sacrifice, however, was a question that had not as yet come up for consideration in the domain of the dogma-creating scholastic thought of the Western Church. Was it nothing more than a peculiarly hallowed sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, offered more especially for the redemption through Christ, which the individual could appropriate to himself by assisting through prayer at the consecration, and by partaking at least once a year of the Host, after previous confession of sins? But if so, how could it be called a renewal of the atoning sacrifice of Christ? Thus it surely must be a propitiatory sacrifice, notwithstanding the Apostle's declaration that the propitiation has been made once for all upon the cross; and is appropriated, not by a ritualistic act, but by faith, the temper of mind that

thankfully lays hold on God's proffered mercy. What an abyss is this which here opens before us! Will destiny compel the Church to plunge men's faith in the Divine Presence into its depths?

It was on the 17th of September, 1563, that the Supreme Synod assembled at Trent, in their decree "Respecting the Sacrifice of the Mass," uttered the proposition, pregnant with evil fates, "*That the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.*" And this decree was shortly after, in the year 1564, proclaimed as an article of the faith in the general confirmation given by the Pope to the decrees of this Council.

Whoever has followed us thus far on the path of inquiry, and acquired the conviction that the idea of sacrifice is the foundation of all worship, and that the presence of God in man must be termed the conscious or unconscious postulate of all religions, as it is confessedly that of the Christian religion, will agree with us when we affirm that of all decrees none is equal to this in its momentous bearing on the destinies of mankind. In their bearing on secular matters, the decrees concerning the Church were indeed of more importance than those touching Religion, and in point of fact the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, and of his unlimited authority over the application of the Canon Law and the execution of the decrees of Councils, which were first conceded to him by that assembly, have proved of incalculable importance. But all through the world's history, in the long run it has never been external force and law that have governed the direction taken by religious thought, but always the ideas that have taken possession of men's hearts. Those who wish to learn further details respecting the effect of that momentous decree will find abundant documentary evidence in Sarpi's work. For our present purpose it is sufficient to note the fact of its promulgation.

Much, too, might even now depend on the mode in

which it was carried into execution. It appeared as though the last extreme deductions in their finally fixed form had now been uttered respecting all that concerned the great question of the Divine Presence. But, lo! the necessity very soon made itself evident of proceeding yet further along the path once entered on, at all events in the matter of administration, by Papal ordinances and by the prescription of fixed norms for the university teaching, that were based upon the most extreme scholastic inferences, and were everywhere alike made obligatory on the professors. The Jesuits were the agents in this work. The expectations entertained that both the theory and practice of the indulgences would be brought back to their original significance were not fulfilled. Bossuet's assertion in his "Catechism" that this was the case is one of the daring artifices and baseless assertions by which that master of special pleading is wont to cut his way out of insoluble knots. No one knew better than the erudite Bishop of Meaux that in Rome, the pattern city of Papal Christendom, no change had been made with respect to the innumerable indulgences promised for hundreds and thousands of years; not to speak of the private masses at privileged altars, whereby, according to the standing formula of the inscription over them: "Through the favour accorded by the Pope, the soul of him who has departed piously in the bosom of the Church is at the moment when the priest utters the Consecration, released from the pains of purgatory, and springs upwards into the joys of Paradise." Equally at variance with historical truth is the other assertion by which Bossuet, in that Catechism, strives to escape the irrefragable historical proof laid before him, that the ancient Church knew no celebration of the Lord's Supper without a communion on the part of the congregation, whether of the whole or only of certain members of the assembly. There did indeed remain no tenable resource open to him but to assert that the communion was merely an adjunct whose

absence or presence was a matter of indifference. And this, too, enabled him to undertake the advocacy of an abuse which had crept into practice in modern times, but which the older Italian scholars (among them notably Cardinal Bona for one) had only ventured very timidly to defend, of not celebrating the communion in that part of the service which the Canon of Gregory the Great, together with all other ancient rituals, had expressly assigned and prescribed for its place,—nay, where it is referred to in the standing form of prayer which concluded this rite (the *Post-Communion*),—but after the ceremony was entirely over.

A mention of these circumstances is requisite in a sketch of the successive beliefs held respecting God's Presence in the world, because they could not but render the transmutation of the central thought into its logical contrary, therefore its actual negation, only the more irrevocable. That which earlier writers had excused, had sought to extenuate and gloss over as something accidental, is now brought into prominence, nay, placed, if needs be, in the very forefront, and invested with the sanctity of a new mystery. This, again, implies two fatal evils—the ignorance of the clergy touching all matters of history and fact, and the apathy of the masses towards spiritual religion. For without these two circumstances, the dominant ecclesiastical power would have been unable to carry out in practice the dogmatic assumptions consecrated in theory. And yet in the long run, if there be such a thing as religion or truth, it is clear that general indifference and ignorance must make shipwreck of any Church system whatever, and with it of every secular power that rears itself upon the spiritual.

But here another fateful circumstance comes in. The increasing worship paid to the saints, especially the devotion to the Virgin Mary, had already, in the twelfth century, awakened grave misgivings in the minds of the most learned and devout divines of the Western Church,

lest it should issue in detracting from the sole glory of the Redeemer, and the sense of man's universal need of that Redeemer should consequently be weakened or even destroyed. Hence there is nothing against which they inveigh more strongly than the opinion then broached for the first time by some enthusiasts and theological devotees of logic, that *the mother of Jesus must have been free from original sin*; therefore, in contrast to all other human beings, *conceived without sin*. They were not long in descrying the two scarcely avertable final consequences to be drawn,—first, that if so, Mary could no longer have stood in need of redemption, therefore could not have been capable of redemption. Secondly, it was not long before the consideration suggested itself, that in such a purely rationalistic mode of procedure, it would be quite arbitrary to stop at her immediate progenitors; but if so, you might follow her pedigree up to Adam, and then there is an end both of original sin and, therefore, of the redemption from it.[1] A very remarkable epistle of the last Church Father,—the pious Abbot of Clairvaux,—addressed in the year 1140 to the Canons of Lyons Cathedral, who wished to celebrate a feast of the *Immaculate Conception*, contains, among other items, the following warning suggestions:—

The privilege of a sinless conception is accorded to Him who was destined to make all men holy: *to Him alone* who, having come without sin, should atone for all sins. Thus it is our Lord Jesus Christ, *He alone* who has been conceived by the Holy Ghost; *He alone* is holy, from the time of his conception onwards. With this single exception all the children of Adam

[1] The celebrated Jesuit theologian, Dr. Perrone, of Rome, who is the most intellectual champion of the new dogma, has collected the most important expressions of the Church on this point, in his remarkable book, entitled *De immaculato Beatæ Virginis conceptu.* Compare with them the article of the famous professor of jurisprudence and historian, Laboulaye, on this subject, reprinted from the *Journal des Débats* (October 30, and November 7 and 19, 1854), in his *Essais Religieux*, and the anonymous pamphlet of a learned Catholic pastor, entitled *Die unbefleckte Empfängniss der Jungfrau Maria* (Leipzig, 1858).

may apply to themselves the words of the Psalmist, who averred with equal humility and truth, "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." But if this be so, on what can such a festival as you propose be grounded? How is it possible to assert that a conception is holy which is not the work of the Holy Ghost—not to say which is the result of sin?

The most acute of all the schoolmen, Peter Lombard, expresses himself in the same sense, and his successor in the Professor's Chair and in the Bishopric of Paris, Maurice de Sully, prohibited this feast in his diocese. And on the same side were ranged Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura in the twelfth, and Pope Innocent III. in the thirteenth, centuries.

St. Thomas Aquinas expressly urges the consideration adduced above:—

If Mary was conceived without sin, then she does not need the redemption of Christ.

And St. Bonaventura adds:—

We ought to beware lest, by the honour we ascribe to the Mother, we derogate from the glory of the Son, and to remember that the Creator stands higher than any creature. . . . We could by no means affirm without impiety that the holy Virgin had no need of redemption.

No other expedient was found to escape this argument but the hypothesis that Jesus had freed His mother from sin beforehand, so that she no longer stood in need of the general redemption.

But in this instance, too, the great mass of the people stood on the side of the most extreme consequences. "Where should we look for the fullest presence of God, if not here?" Such was the sentiment cherished in multitudes of pious hearts. So great was the splendour of the services in honour of Mary, so unrestricted were the expressions used by the preachers concerning the all-surpassing holiness and purity of the "Queen of Angels," so high a place did the Mother of Jesus assume practically in the public and personal devotions, that it was easy to

foresee that, sooner or later, the final inference would have to be exalted to the rank of an article of the Church's faith. Not only did Duns Scotus already insist upon this; Bossuet likewise, in his sermons on this subject, finds the opposite view unreasonable:—"for," says he, "how can we believe but that something supernatural must have occurred also even in the conception of this Princess (of the Saints)? Could this have been the only moment of her life unmarked by any illustrious marvel?" The Council of Trent restricted itself to the practical decision of Pope Sixtus IV. This Pope, himself a Franciscan, designed to make an end of the violent strife that raged on this point between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who had vowed to abide by the opinion of their patron, St. Thomas Aquinas, without putting forth any dogmatic declaration. After having given his sanction to the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and conferred indulgences upon its observance (he calls it, by way of conciliation, "The Feast of the Immaculate One"), and at the same time forbidden its opponents, the Dominicans, to accuse those who taught that doctrine of impiety, he declared (in 1483) that the Church and the Holy See had not pronounced any decision upon it. The Council confirmed this rescript, and added to it:—

That the holy Synod had no intention to pronounce any verdict touching the decree respecting the original sin of the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God.*

But the sense that this expedient was merely a covert either for unbelief or cowardly fear to assert that dogmatically which yet was acknowledged practically, left the Popes no rest. In 1570, Pius V. prohibited all discussion of the moot-point in sermons, and all polemical writings on it couched in a living language. The new order of the Jesuits made it their special task to glorify "the Queen of Heaven," and in Spain there arose an almost national enthusiasm in favour of ascribing to her those highest

honours. The Popes of the seventeenth century, especially Pope Alexander VII. (1661), went as far as they possibly could, without taking the final leap, to keep up with the current of religious excitement. The festival became a universally obligatory holiday of the Church, bearing the full title of "The Feast of the Immaculate Conception;" and no festival was commemorated with greater splendour than this in the model city of the Church.

In order to escape the theoretical difficulties we have hinted at, the following expedient of the Schoolmen was resorted to. The conception was declared to be twofold: first, that by which the body is formed; and secondly, that which occurs at the end of forty days, when the soul is added to it. The former is called the active, the latter the passive conception. The first took place with Mary in the same manner as with all other human beings; but, in the moment of the latter, God delivered the soul that was entering the womb from original sin by a special miracle.

All this, however, could not prevail on the Popes to overstep the line already traced out; so that even Bossuet, in his treatise concerning a reunion with the Lutheran Church, could say with a certain semblance of honesty:—

> The collective Romish Church holds the Immaculate Conception of the holy Virgin for an indifferent point, which has nothing to do with the faith.

But after the epoch of the Restoration, the sense of dishonesty grew to such a height, especially moreover in France, that in 1834 the Archbishop of Paris, and in 1838 the Administrator of Lyons, besought permission to have the privilege of using in their dioceses the collect for that festival used by the Franciscans. At the same time, in those dioceses, and in nearly all the churches of France and Italy, in the general prayer of intercession the words were added:—

> Queen of Heaven, conceived without spot of original sin.

The devout Pope Pius VII. had already, however, gone even beyond this, by conferring, soon after his release, a new dispensation upon the house of Loretto, and by attaching another new indulgence to the reciting of a prescribed prayer, which was disseminated far and wide by hundreds of thousands from the printing press of the Propaganda, in which the Virgin Mary is worshipped (adored) with equal, if not superior, ascriptions of praise to the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. The text of the four prayers successively printed is given in the Appendix.[1] Its sense is as follows :—

I adore thee, Eternal Father, and thank thee in the name of the Holy Virgin, for her assumption into heaven.

I adore thee, Eternal Son, and thank thee in the name of the Holy Virgin, for the supreme wisdom bestowed on her who has been exalted to heaven, etc.

I adore thee, Holy Ghost, and thank thee, etc., etc. for the Divine charity which thou hast imparted to the Holy Virgin, thy bride, on her assumption, and beseech of thee the gift of thy grace, for the sake of the merit and intercession of thy well-beloved bride.

I adore thee, most blessed Virgin, Queen of Heaven, sovereign and patroness of the universe (*Signora e Padrona dell' Universo*), as the Mother of thy beloved Son, and Bride of the Holy Ghost, and implore thee to bestow on me the Divine charity imparted to thee. Take to thyself my heart, my memory, my will, and all my powers, etc. etc.

It is easy to understand how a Pope like Pius IX., also an undoubtedly pious man, who ascribes his deliverance from the perils which surrounded him in 1848 to the personal interposition of the Virgin, should feel himself bound in conscience to declare openly that of which his heart was full. It would have seemed to him dishonesty, unbelief, to have refused divine honours to her to whom he had so long, in common with so many of his predecessors, addressed his prayers as the reigning Queen of

[1] See Appendix C.

Heaven. However in the case of others, ecclesiastical and political reasons may have been the prevailing incentive to profit by the opportunity of practically asserting the absolute authority of the Pope even in matters of faith; in the case of Pius IX. himself, and certainly in that of many of the Bishops whom he summoned to the Vatican, the question of faith itself was the governing motive. And who will deny that the decree passed by the Council of Ephesus, in 431 A.D., against Nestorius, which accorded to the Virgin Mary the title of "Mother of God," in opposition to all the warnings given in the Council, had but conducted the Church to its natural issue when she put forth this final deduction?

The reports sent in by all the Bishops and divines whom the Pope consulted on this point (which have been printed but not published, and some of which have been copied into the "*Protestantische Monatsblätter*") prove that of all the dignitaries of the Church who assisted at the discussions on this subject, the present Archbishop of Paris is the only one who declared himself against the dogma itself; and it is well known that he yielded when in Rome to the other Bishops and Pope and joined in its promulgation.

---

If we now review the successive steps in the development of man's apprehension of the presence of God which the Church has taken during the more than 1,500 years which have elapsed since the era of Constantine, we cannot fail to discern that those steps have followed each other on their gradual ascent by a perfectly logical process, whether as regards the constitution or the cultus of the Church. As regards the constitution, it was inevitable that under the sway of Bishops and Elders the liberty of the whole congregation should be exchanged for an unlimited despotism, both in legislation and government. So again in the cultus we have seen how the central point of man's belief in a real and active Presence of God is displaced and finally transmuted into its opposite. Now,

since the causal connection existing between the several facts of this development cannot well be disputed, it would seem to all appearance that the direction taken by its stream has been one contrary to Christianity and the moral order of the world;—assuming that there is such a moral order, and that it is truly the postulate, as its glorification is the ultimate aim, of Christianity.

We have already in our Introductory Book, and again in the opening of the present volume, insisted on the necessity of not regarding Thought as the sole depositary of man's consciousness of God's agency in history, but also the Action which realizes that Thought; and of seeking the evidence of man's apprehension of the Divine not only in his worship, but also in his daily life. It is the same souls which compose the civil and the ecclesiastical communities. The prophets of the Old Testament were prophets to the collective nation, and those of the persecuted Christian Church addressed themselves to all mankind. Thus, in the present instance also, we must direct our attention to two great classes of facts; first, to the religious beliefs displayed in the constitution and practice of the civil society which grew up side by side with, and to some extent under the influence of, the hierarchical Church; and secondly, to the prophets of God's presence, who arose among the peoples guided by this Church.

In respect to the former of these two points, the persecuted Church of the Christians carried in her womb large and fertile germs for the reconstruction of the civil society of the Roman empire, which, at that time, was in the throes of dissolution; nay, even already partially dissolved, since no one would undertake municipal offices in it except unwillingly or by constraint, and every functionary was as such an object of mistrust, if not of hatred. The Christian Church was the first society that brought with it a family and household fellowship, founded on mutual respect for each other as human beings standing before a common Father in heaven. But secondly, by the orga-

nization of that Church, it was the first society to exhibit freedom of internal administration, combined with a well-ordered system of authorities; and this, too, founded on a sense of direct relationship to God. That the ancient Churches, with their Bishops, are the prototype of the Teutonic kingship, we have already remarked in treating of that period. It may here be added, that in the earliest Synods, or common meetings for deliberation of independent Churches, especially in those of Africa, there lay germs of a federal constitution far transcending the federal states of antiquity.

Now, we willingly admit that the Hierarchical Church of the period succeeding Constantine undoubtedly exercised a beneficial influence upon many matters of civil legislation, such as marriage and slavery for example.[1] But, as regarded congregational liberty—the foundation of all political—that Church herself was regulated too much after the pattern of the Roman-Byzantine despotism to be capable of becoming the parent of a new life. Now, certainly, in the Byzantine empire itself it was perhaps impossible to bring about any improvement in the political state of things; still, we may ask, why did the promising elements of Teutonic liberty crumble away under the pressure of the hierarchy in the Western Church? and why was this most conspicuously of all the case among the Franks who were such ardent votaries of the Church and the Pope?

When at last, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Romanic and Teutonic urban populations once more began to create free, self-governing communities, fired with the idea of devotion to their mother-city; when a new life sprang up in Toulouse and Southern France; when Venice and Genoa, Florence and Pisa rose into bloom, and the spirit of civic freedom in the communes

[1] This influence has been recently exhibited in a very forcible and lucid essay by Professor Schmidt, of Strasburg, that received the prize of the French Academy.

evoked a marvellous budding forth of mind, first in the creation of a vernacular language and then of art and science—the ecclesiastical power proved itself an instrument of repression and hindrance rather than of aid and encouragement to progress. Thus, everywhere in Italy, except where, as in the case of Milan, the city is kept down by a powerful foreign sovereignty, we find these free cities setting themselves in opposition to the Pope and the ever-growing pretensions of the clergy. The prodigious mental uprising which took place in Southern France succumbed before the united forces of the sanguinary massacres perpetrated in the wars and persecutions waged against the heretics, combined with the pressure of secular tyranny. The Parliaments of Arragon, Catalonia, and Castile, whose freedom and culture enabled Spain to take rank beside Italy and France, and placed her in the van of European culture and power, struggled hard for the freedom both of the ecclesiastical and civil communities. And when, in the sixteenth century, the great battle for spiritual and political liberty began in Germany and Switzerland, what was the result of the alliance between the dynasties and the Popes against this movement? The erection of modern absolutism! The Cardinals Ximenes and Richelieu laboured in concert with Charles V., Philip II., and Louis XIII. for the suppression of the ancient Estates and Parliaments. And where are the free Roman Catholic States now, with the exception of two, which with difficulty maintain their ground against the claims of the Church of the hierarchy?

Not less remarkable are the results presented by a review of the course of development displayed in the series of Prophets belonging to this religious period.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF GOD IN HISTORY POSSESSED BY THE PROPHETS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HIERARCHY UP TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

During the epoch of the Church of Patriarchs and Councils, we encounter one exalted genius who is a prophet for all time,—Augustine,—a contemporary of the taking of Rome by Alaric in 410 A.D., and a witness of the ravaging of Africa by the Vandals. Augustine formed the resolve to answer the charges brought against Christianity, which in that fearful age were ever waxing louder on the part of pusillanimous Christians or hostile sceptics and pagans; and in this design composed his great work, "*De Civitate Dei*," in twenty-two books. In this treatise, he begins by reminding his readers of all the arguments, offensive and defensive, that might be urged against paganism, under which mankind had certainly been yet more miserable than they were now, and then proceeds to the constructive part of his task by exhibiting the Old Testament history from Abraham up to Christ and the Apostles as the gradual founding of the Kingdom of God upon earth. One thing only is wanting—viz., the assertion (therefore, *a fortiori*, the proof) that a divine order of the world really does exist upon earth, and that in every grand crisis of the world the good must needs prevail, and God's Kingdom be furthered. Even at the point where he is treading on the very verge of this question (xxii. 2), he falls back on the unsearchableness of God's ways. Throughout his work, however, he in no wise fails to recognize the common human element,—the unity of the human race,—and he everywhere points out how

the present, like previous ages, had richly merited by its vices all the calamities that had overtaken it. These are the two bright Christian characteristics in his reflections on the history of Humanity.

We find the same fruits of a truly Christian mind in the intellectual and truth-loving Salvianus, a priest of Marseilles, who, towards the end of that century, about 480, replies to similar objections, but with still stronger confessions of existing evils, in his very remarkable eight books "*On the Divine Government of the World.*"

So again it is refreshing to see how these men recognize the universal human nature with its capability of redemption, in their barbarous neighbours, the Punic Canaanites, the Berber Numidians, the heretical Goths and Vandals. But in their view—especially is this the case with Augustine—the world ends with the Roman Empire; whose bloody overthrow by the hand of the barbarians he, by the beginning of the fifth century, descries to be impending. Whereon shall the Christian hang his faith as he witnesses the destruction of his earthly birthplace? That when many thousands of virtuous and Christian wives and mothers are ravished or massacred in the storming of the world's metropolis, they will but so much the sooner, if they have been faithful, enter into eternal life; while the slaughtered unbelievers are the victims of a merited retribution, in the judgment day which the Lord has announced that He will bring upon this earth.

These examples suffice to show us at once how dark was man's perception of the presence of God in the Church and in Humanity; but also further, that the Person of Christ was the only thing that rose out above and untouched by the deadening influences of an evil and decaying age. The sense of death which the teachers and prophets of the Christians in the centuries of persecution had felt as a presage of the approaching end of the world was but a superficial and passing misgiving; it had

been repressed by the victory of Christianity in the Empire. The symbol of the deepest humiliation, the cross, shone indeed in the diadem of the Cæsars, and the Theodosian Emperors caused the pagan temples to be closed and left to decay. But when paganism stepped forth for the last time in the person of the Senator Symmachus, to save the altar of the Goddess of Victory in the Roman curia, on which the heathen senators were wont to throw a few grains of incense into the flames as they passed to take their seats, what does Prudentius urge in reply to the genuinely Roman oration of Symmachus, which has been preserved to us? The *Victoria* is no longer the symbol of the majesty of Rome, but a pagan symbol of the secular power;—the world is perishing with her pomps and vanities.

One generation more elapsed, and Alaric, the Goth, fulfilled the decrees of fate by taking Rome, and the Vandal Genseric by taking Carthage. Then the apprehension of the speedy approach of the end of all things again took possession of all hearts with redoubled force. And when they beheld Rome, whose noble and wealthy classes were still for the most part pagan, given over to the flames by the barbarians who had stormed it, they shuddered at the thought that the Judgment Day had now come. But, contrary to all anticipation, the Teutonic barbarians are converted to Christianity, and Theodoric, though an Arian heretic, surrounds himself with all the science and art that Byzantium and Rome have yet to offer. Goths by birth became bishops and authors.

Next Totila arose, and conducted an expedition against Rome. And now did all look forward to the end of Rome, which, according to the universal belief, was synchronous with that of the world. Messengers were despatched from Rome to the desert of Monte Cassino to enquire concerning the future at the mouth of St. Benedict, a man of noble Roman family, who had fled to those remote mountain solitudes that he might devote his life to pious meditations.

For in that age the noblest and deepest minds secluded themselves, not only from public but also from family life, in the feeling that on earth human society was past all hope of redemption. The fable of "the magnet-mountain" seems to reveal its meaning here. The ship of the Roman world-empire was doomed to founder, because the irresistible power of the unseen magnet drew out of its planks the noblest minds, which really formed the true invisible nails that held it together in virtue of their wisdom and goodness. Their hatred of the detestable realities around them became more intense in proportion to their love for the Eternal. And that Eternal appeared once more among the children of men as a consuming fire. Then it was that Benedict, like many others, had gone out into the wilderness, and many like-minded Christians had joined themselves to him. Now, when the friends who brought the ominous tidings from Rome asked him if he did not believe that Rome would this time be destroyed by the barbarians, the answer of the saint, preserved to us by Gregory the Great, is as follows:—

"Rome will not be destroyed by the barbarians, but it will fall to pieces of itself, shattered by thunder, and lightning, and hurricanes."

A great prophetic word which, even now, supplies much food for reflection.

Not long after Benedict's death, it seemed once more as though the plague were about to make an end of the Roman Empire and the world. Niebuhr has pointed out that this period,—the end of the sixth century,—is the date of the virtual fall of Rome and of the ancient world.

When the Franks, after conquering, and to some extent Teutonizing Gaul, passed over to Italy, and on the Christmas Eve of the year 800 A.D. the German King Charlemagne yielded to the fatal temptation of allowing himself to be crowned Emperor of Rome, men for the first time

ventured to indulge in a brighter view of the destinies of the world. Yet they still cherished no steady hopes, and had no distinct sense that a new outburst of life was preparing in the future.

Of this Carlovingian era, John Scotus Erigena deserves to be called the prophet, in virtue of the depth of his intellect, for every true thought is prophetic. Moreover, he is, like all the mystics who succeeded him, full of the profoundest thoughts touching the eternal life of the soul in God. But his philosophy no more descends from those heights to contemplate the ways of God in the actual world—the earthly life of the human race—than did that of the German mystics, Eccard and Tauler, four centuries after. His view of this world is a despairing one, and Rome is precisely the object of his direst forebodings. It has now been proved by the recent critical edition of his writings, that a certain very remarkable and mysterious elegy upon Rome was the product of his pen. We give the genuine text in the Appendix,[1] and are indebted for the following English version to the late Professor Whewell:—

Built in ancient days by the noble labour of patrons,
Verging to ruin now, Rome, thou art subject to slaves!
Kings that reigned so long in thy walls have left them for ever,
Left them, and gone to the Greeks; gone with thy glory and grace.
Constantinople is cherish'd; New Rome is the name that they call her,
Thou, old Rome, must decay—going are thy customs and walls,
All thy empire is gone, yet thy pride remains in thy weakness;
All thy riches are gone; fondness of money remains.
Races of men ignoble, swept here from earth's uttermost borders,
These are now thy lords—slaves that are subject to slaves.
None of thy noble rulers remain to gladden thy villas,
All thy freemen are far, tilling Pelasgian fields.

[1] See Appendix, Note D.

Once thou hast slain the prophets, cut off the heads of the holy,
Now thou teachest thy sons profit to make of their bones.
For of a truth if the merits of Paul and of Peter should fail thee,
Great Rome art thou no more; no, but a poor little Rome.

Throughout the whole Mediæval period up to the thirteenth century, the idea survives in the beliefs of the Latin and Teutonic races, that the world is verging towards its dissolution, but meanwhile is destined to be ruled by Pope and Emperor, or Emperor and Pope. Rome is, and will remain, the centre of the world's destiny. Bede has preserved to us a popular saying of the eighth century: "When the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the whole world will fall." The glory of ancient Rome displayed in that marvellous structure of art is still the symbol of universal sovereignty. Rome is the city of the Cæsars. The Pope, the sovereign of the spiritual life of the world, still dwells there in the Emperor's own city. The Emperor must repair thither to receive his coronation. But the glory of the ancient world will never return.

The poetry of the earlier portion of the Middle Ages vibrates between confused reminiscences of the ancient world, symbolic interpretations of Scripture texts, and misunderstood Cymric legends. The Romanic view of the world was truly (whence we derive the word) a *romance*. The Crusades seemed as though they were only destined to afford fresh nutriment to this dream-life, notwithstanding that they invigorated in the Romano-Teutonic populations the element of that new life which was gradually dawning into day in the free cities of Italy, France, and Germany, under the influence of freedom and commercial intercourse.

Never has there been, on the whole, a time of deeper despondency touching the Divine government of the world than during the Mediæval period. Among modern

historians, Michelet has begun to lift the veil which had been drawn over the despair of the masses. He has shown how, after the suppression of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and the degradation of the lower classes to serfs and bondsmen, there sprang up in France, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, a religion of despair, an actual worship of Satan, carried on in midnight assemblies frequented by many thousands. In the sixteenth century, these abominations cease to be practised. After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew they revive again, and with respect to this latter period we have the authentic testimony of the historical documents relating to these transactions from 1610 to 1619 A.D.[1]

In Italy, the tenth century was an age of apathetic despondency, according to the witness borne by the annals of that dark period. The multitude, especially in Rome and Italy, lived in constant expectation of the end of the world. No new churches were built; houses and cloisters were only repaired in order to serve as fortresses or watch-towers. In Italy likewise the blackest arts of sorcery and positive devil-worship were practised during those centuries. How deep are the traces this has left behind it in all Romanic countries is notorious to every one who has seen with his own eyes the havoc which *lotto* (the curse of Catholic States), combined with the superstitious belief in omens and the evil eye, even to this day makes in the very heart of families and communities, especially in Rome and Naples. Some of our readers will probably, too, have noticed in Fievée's political correspondence with Napoleon I., how, in the departments under his charge, every village regularly possesses its magician with his sieve, and its witch who tells fortunes from coffee-grounds.

Even the greatest men of that age reveal in the deepest outpourings of their hearts their frightful despair of

[1] We would refer our readers more especially to the eighth and ninth vols. of Michelet's French History.

Humanity. When Gregory VII., by far the greatest character of his age,—the penitent of Cluny, the zealot for celibacy and the absolutism of the hierarchy,—exclaims on his death-bed, which took place in captivity in the year 1095 :—

I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore do I die in banishment,

it is impossible not to see in these words a bitter parody of that magnificent forty-fifth Psalm, where it is said to the king :—

Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

Again, it is notorious in what a desponding frame of mind another great Pope, Boniface VIII., died two centuries later. But a still greater Pope than either, who comes between the two, has openly given voice to this despair. For it is only in such a spirit that Innocent III., one of the most learned and earnest priests of his time, could have written, as he did when Cardinal, such a book as his Tractate : "*On the Contempt of the World, or the Misery of Human Life*," [1] which has been re-edited within the last few years. After a hideous picture of the misery of that age, which that great Pope, like Hildebrand, thought to remedy by clerical absolutism, he exclaims in this tractate :—

Happy ought we to esteem those who die before they have seen the light of day; who taste death ere they have experienced life !

The noble German prelate, Wessenberg, who in these days has presented us with most wise, consolatory, and edifying considerations in his book entitled "*God and the world, or the relation of all things to each other and to*

[1] "*De Contemptu mundi, sive de miseria humanæ conditionis*," neu herausgegeben von J. H. Achterfeld. Bonn, 1855.

*God*,"[1] cannot refrain from exclaiming as he quotes these words :—

> What a consolatory contrast is presented by the Saviour's words in the Sermon on the Mount, touching the blessings which are open to all!

From the midst of this darkness of despair there shines out to us one strange star of hope—a monk who sees the dawn of a new era, and it is, moreover, the era of the Spirit.

*Joachim*,—commonly called Joachim of Floris, after the convent which he founded in 1190, not far from his native place, Cosenza, in Calabria,—after devoting himself to the earnest study of the sacred writings, and making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, resolved to retire altogether from the world. But from the solitude of his cloister, of which he was the Abbot, he exercised by his writings a mighty influence, having already acquired great weight even with the Emperor and Pope, by his expositions of the prophecies of Scripture and by the sanctity of his life. He continued to be held in great veneration as a prophet, even though his refusal to assent to the Trinitarian formula adopted by Peter Lombard was afterwards condemned in 1215 by the fourth Lateran Council. Those doctrines of his, which afterwards received the title of "*The Eternal Gospel*," are chiefly contained in his "*Concordia*," or harmony of the Old and New Testaments.[2] This title was conferred in allusion to that passage in Rev. xiv. 6 :—

[1] "*Gott und die Welt, oder das Verhältniss aller Dinge zu einander und zu Gott.*" 2 Theile. 1857. This reference to Pope Innocent's work is to be found in vol. i. p. 474.

[2] Some very instructive extracts from the "*Concordia*" are given in C. U. Hahn's "*Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*" (ed. 1850, Bd. iii. S. 263–318). They are copied from the very rare first and only printed edition of the book; which in 1519 came out at Venice under the title, "*Divini vatis Abbatis Joachim liber Concordiæ novi ac veteris Testamenti.*" I would further refer my readers to Engelhardt's "*Kirchengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*" (1832); Neander's "*Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. v., and Milman's "*Latin Christianity*," vol. v. p. 417.

"And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having *the everlasting gospel* to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people."

In order to estimate the importance of the theory of the Three Dispensations propounded in this work, it is sufficient to say that this remarkable scholar takes the epoch of the Old Testament as that of the first age of the world, calling it the era of the Father; the period from the birth of Christ till about the thirteenth century, whose commencement was then close at hand, the era of the Son; after which the era of the Holy Ghost, predicted by Christ, is brought in. In this case, too, we shall obtain the clearest ideas of the author's personality and authentic opinions from his own words, which however we can but reproduce in free extracts. We will place before our readers the essential substance of his most important theses, omitting that which is due to a false exegesis (more particularly that of the Apocalypse), and merely obscures his fundamental ideas. The book opens with these words:—

I, Joachim, being about midnight on Easter Eve plunged in meditation, suddenly received by an illumination of the Spirit the following revelation concerning the harmony of the Old and New Testaments. . . . By the ordinance of the Father and the birth of the Son, two nations have been elected to the belief in one God, under two dispensations, namely, the Jewish nation first, and afterwards the Roman. Between these two nations comes the Greek (Byzantine), which, however, has fallen away from the faith. Through the teaching of the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, certain men have arisen out of those nations, both under the Old and the New Covenant, who continued in the doctrine of those men of God, in which that perfectness was found of which the Apostle says, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." . . . . [End of the first book.] . . . .

The first period reaches from Adam (or rather, as to fruitfulness, from Abraham) up to Elijah and Elisha, the prophets; or more truly may be said to reach up to Zacharias, the father

of the Baptist. This is the mystery of the Father. The mystery of the Son may be reckoned, strictly speaking, in the first instance up to St. Benedict, the founder of the order of monks, who are the contemplative, spiritual Christians; but it may be reckoned on again from that date to the last times of the second period of the world, in which we are now living [shortly before 1200]. Now at length will the era of the Spirit, already commenced in the person of Benedict, receive its fulfilment.

This is, we think, the fundamental thought of a very confused and lengthy disquisition, in which he attempts to reckon out an equal number of generations for each epoch of the world; and naturally fails in the task. The only philosophical idea in this portion of the work, perhaps, is that he distinguishes between the commencement (*initium*) of an epoch of the world and the time when it comes to bear fruit. Thus Adam, for instance, begins the first age, but Abraham causes it to bear fruit. Our author would seem by this to express the contrast between an enlightened personage who does not give rise to any immediate and enduring development, and a later one who becomes the founder of a society. Again, in Book II., we read:—

The former, first-ordained series were called to the toilsome performance of legal works; the second to the travail of the sufferings of Christ [*ad laborem Passionis*]; the third, proceeding from the former two, is called to the freedom of contemplation; according to those words of Scripture: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The Father has taken upon Himself the work of the law, because He is Fear [He who is to be worshipped with fear]; the Son the work of discipline, because He is Wisdom. The Holy Ghost gives liberty, because He is Love. For where fear is there is servitude; where teaching, there is discipline; where love is there is liberty. Yet, in virtue of the unity of the Divine Essence, do the Father and Son also give liberty, the former as a Father, the latter as a Brother; and, on the other hand, does the Holy Ghost also impose the servitude of a good life [*servitus bonæ actionis*] because He himself is also fear and wisdom. . . . Now at the end of the second state [*status*] do we anticipate that liberty will be conferred on believers.

Again, towards the end of Book IV., he says :—

In the men whose coming the world is looking forward to, will be fulfilled the likeness of Zacharias [the father of the Baptist], of John the Baptist, and of the man Christ Jesus; and afterwards, also, that of the twelve Apostles; but, above all, of the Seven Churches mentioned by the Evangelist John. The gospel of the kingdom of heaven shall be preached over the face of the whole earth; and the spiritual understanding thereof shall at length penetrate even to the Jews, and shatter their hardness of heart, as with the force of a thunderbolt; according to the saying of the Prophet Malachi (iv. 6).

Again, at the close of the work, we read :—

Let no one urge me to explain the mystery of the numbers [the numbers mentioned in the Revelations, of the 1260, and of the 1335 days]; let no one compel me to overstep the limit that I have traced for myself; for God has it in His power to make His mysteries still more intelligible [than hitherto]. My work is at an end. . . . And I would have all to know that I have not undertaken it out of proud presumption, nor have I desired to disturb the peace of mind of a single pious person, nor have I invented what I have said in order to appear with it before the world. I have done it because the appointed time is come.

Both in this book and in his last book, the *Psalterium*,[1] he repeatedly hints that the married were those who were first called to labour in the kingdom of God; then the clergy, but lastly, in the realm of the Spirit,—in which a life devoted to contemplation and heavenly vision should predominate,—the monks, as whose father he regarded St. Benedict. Thus it was a very natural consequence that when, some three or four years after Joachim's death, St. Francis founded his order (as Dominic did his soon after, in 1218), Gerhard, one of his most devoted disciples, should broach the opinion that the Saint of Assisi was the opener of the new era which had been foretold by the Abbot Joachim. In all this, that unhappy delusion of the middle ages is most evident, according to which the agency

[1] From which extracts may be found in Hahn's "*Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*," S. 318–337.

of God in Humanity works not according to eternal natural laws, but according to certain human inventions and dictates. The Abbot Joachim himself had expressly declared that the spirit of understanding had been granted to him, but not that of prophecy, and renounced all determination of times and seasons. The only thing he was certain of was that the future of the kingdom of God lay in that direction, in accordance with that course of progress and in that unity which he had indicated. Of this he was sure, and in this he was not deceived! And that he assigned so high a vocation in the realm of the Spirit to that free contemplation which we are now wont to call philosophy, has proved true in experience, and will continue to do so more and more. On the contrary, how completely has the interpretation given to his prophecy by the Franciscan proved itself a delusion! Was not even St. Francis himself compelled to find by experience how little the clergy were inclined to take upon themselves the toilsome work of Christian national education? While Dominic had to begin his career with taking part in the sanguinary persecution of the Waldenses and Albigenses, whose horrors he in vain, though we may hope sincerely, strove to mitigate. The inquisitor remained, the reformer vanished, and the love that distinguished the two founders was transformed into bitter hatred and jealousy by their disciples.

While Joachim was yet living, there was born into the world the gigantic intellect of Abelard (1094), whom his gifted historian, Charles de Rémusat, with justice entitles the first champion of human reason and culture in the middle ages. Since Cousin and others have made us acquainted with the most important of his writings relating to these subjects, we are able to affirm distinctly that he too, found his consolation in the Eternal, in Christ the Redeemer, and in the Holy Ghost (the Paraclete to whom he dedicates the asylum of his Heloise), and in the retrospect of God's universal revelation of Himself to all mankind. What Rémusat styles the Theodicy of Abelard [1] is

[1] II. pp. 184-292. Cf. pp. 402-517.

properly nothing but an apology for the dogmatic system of the Church, interspersed with many doubts. According to Abelard, the Spirit of God has revealed Himself in Plato, as well as in the men of God in the Old Testament. But where does He reveal Himself now? In the contemplation of divine things, in particular of the Trinity, for even here does the divine power of reason assert itself; secondly, in the good intent inspired by God, which alone confers any worth upon an action or a work (therefore also upon works of piety or observances prescribed by the Church); lastly, in love to God, the highest principle of ethics. Mere observances prescribed by the Church fall quite into the background with Abelard, as good works do with Joachim. But so also does actual daily life. God is present in the sacrament, but He is not to be traced in the universe.

Even *Dante*, who sits in judgment on the world of the past, who beholds in a vision the life of the blessed, reveals in his *Divina Commedia* that he cherishes no hope for this world. When we have once obtained a clear apprehension of the general design of that immortal allegory, representing the three inward states of the soul in this life (a conception with which the author of the *Shepherd* had already charmed the Christians of the second century), we shall see that behind the glorification of the divine justice and love in a future life, whether it be that of condemnation, purification, or bliss, lies a background of the blackest despair, as regards any realization of the divine order of the world upon this actual earth, of any hopes connected with this present life. This assertion will doubtless excite a great outcry among the Romanticists and their hierarchical disciples, who discern, or at least extol, in Dante the highest apotheosis of the Christian faith. But it is true, nevertheless. Not a word of consolation regarding the future can any of his blessed spirits give him, so soon as it is a question of this present earthly stage of existence; that is to say, of that great kingdom of God which Christ

proclaimed to mankind, and to believe in the triumph of which is more essential to the victory of Christianity over Judaism and paganism than the belief in any past event. The highest flight of Dante's prophetic hopes does not soar beyond the expectation, destined to be deceived, of the liberation of Italy and the reform of the Church by some mighty prince, whether it be Can Grande della Scala, or Henry VII. Dante is constrained to regard the end of the world as immediately impending, because, in truth, he sees no way of salvation left for it. Indeed, this is his openly avowed view, to which the words of Beatrice to Dante bear testimony, when, in the "Paradiso," she shows him the countless host arrayed in white garments, who draw nigh to the Saviour and the holy city of God. The words run thus :—

"Behold," she said,
"This fair assemblage! stoles of snowy white,
How numberless. The city, where we dwell,
Behold how vast; and these our seats so throng'd,
Few now are wanting here. In that proud stall
On which the crown, already o'er its state
Suspended, holds thine eyes—or e'er thyself
Mayst at the wedding sup,—shall rest the soul
Of the great Harry, he who, by the world
Augustus hailed, to Italy must come
Before her day be ripe." [1]

Only for a few elect souls is there still room left. There is still a throne reserved for the soul of Henry VII., who forsakes this earth too soon to be able to save Italy, in her contest with her then Pope, Clement V.,[2] of whom Dante says, at the conclusion of the Canto, alluding to Pope Boniface VIII. at Anagni :

"Whom God will not endure
I' the holy office long; but thrust him down
To Simon Magus, where Alagna's priest
Will sink beneath him: Such will be his meed."

[1] Cary's Dante, '*Paradise*,' xxx. 127–146.
[2] Who died in 1314. Cf. *Inferno*, xix. 66–91.

All the more is it to Dante's praise that he places in his "Paradiso," the one solitary prophet of the mediæval Church, the much-maligned Abbot Joachim, and, moreover, in the higher circle of saints. He makes Beatrice say of him :[1]

> "Raban is here; and at my side there shines
> Calabria's Abbot, Joachim, endow'd
> With soul prophetic." . . .

Whether or no the story is true that King Richard Cœur-de-Lion and the Empress Constantia, attracted by his repute for apocalyptic wisdom and their own curiosity, repaired to Joachim to enquire concerning the future, it is certain that his own country, Calabria, revered him as a saint, and that Dante recognized in him the foretokens of a blessed life in the Spirit.

That the age of the greatest bloom of national literature in the free cities, particularly among the intellectual and creative Italians, should have given birth to no philosophy of the history of mankind, still less to any prophetic seer of the future, will not raise our astonishment, if we reflect that we have never yet found these phenomena, save where civil liberty went hand in hand with the freedom of the religious consciousness, and recognized that it had its roots in the latter. But that long-standing despair of the actual world gained still greater ascendency when those free cities fell, to be replaced by tyrants or oligarchies, while the Church grew ever more and more worldly. In this age, the only hopeful sign we encounter is the inspired voice of one of the greatest poets at the end of the fourteenth century—*Petrarch*. The lines to which we more particularly refer are his three celebrated Sonnets on the Papal Chair, which at that time was sojourning at Avignon.[2] We give the text of these in the Appendix. Here it suffices to quote the two former,

[1] *Paradise*, xii. 129.

[2] See Appendix E, Petrarch's three Sonnets, cv. *Fiamma dal Ciel*, cvi. *L' Avara Babilonia*, cvii. *Fontana di Dolore*.

wherein he expresses the hope that a better future is about to dawn, in consequence of the inward uprising of the human mind, and of the struggles of the peoples:

*Petrarch's Sonnet, cvi. (xv. in Leopardi's edition).*

Lo! Babylon the covetous, with vices
Impious and dark hath filled till it o'erflows
The cup of wrath; Bacchus the god she chose
And Venus;—Jove and Pallas she despises.
Longing for Right and Truth, I strive and pine:
But though I may not see it with these eyes,
Yet I foresee a Sovereign will arise,
Make one sole Chair, and purify God's shrine.
Cast to the ground thy idols meet their doom,
And thy proud towers, of heaven itself the foes,
And all who reign there, shall the flames consume.
Fair souls in whom the love of virtue glows
Shall rule the earth, and we once more behold
The ancient deeds adorn an age of gold.[1]

*Petrarch's Sonnet, cvii. (xvi. in Leopardi's edition).*

Fountain of sorrows, Home of wrath and strife,
Temple of heresies and Error's School,
What tears and sighs hath cost thy bitter rule!
Thou Forge of lies, Dungeon with horrors rife,
Where all ills flourish, and all good must die,
Hell to the living; sure the Christ on high
Must end in wrath at last thy sinful life.
Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
Against thy founders thou thy head dost raise,
O shameless harlot; and in what dost trust?
Thy adulteries, thy ill-gotten wealth? For thee
No Constantine returns in these last days;
The saddened world shall crush thee to the dust.[1]

The golden age of antique virtue, whose return one day Petrarch hopes for, and whose anticipated coming consoles him in the deepest anguish of his soul, is in the poet's eyes that classical antiquity from which the illustrious images of the Greek sages, especially Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and the patriotic deeds of free

[1] Translated by C. Winkworth.

citizens, shine down to him through the dark clouds of the present.

But already in Boccaccio's "*Decamerone*" we see from the Tale of the Three Rings, and in that of the Venetian Jew who had been converted in Rome, that the religious obedience of the peoples was based simply on indifference and despair.

The great minds among the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century, did indeed cherish more lofty aspirations and some sublime conceptions of the universe. Especially was this the case with Laurentius Valla, who already before the middle of that century had begun to investigate the Greek classics in the original, and to introduce the use of classical Latin in place of the monks' Latin. But, unhappily, in this instance, as in so many others, the evil effects of an intellectual activity, unaccompanied by a moral renovation, and a soaring of the reason undirected by conscience, were but too soon apparent. The religious feeling which had animated classical philology was soon dissipated in unbridled licentiousness, and even so late as the end of the sixteenth century, the great Scaliger complains that the learned class in Italy are universally atheists, who scoff at the Protestant philologers alike on account of their faith and of their moral austerity.

It was against this immorality and licentiousness that, towards the close of the fifteenth century, *Savonarola*, a Dominican monk, held in high esteem by the noblest men of his age, arose in arms; a martyr, like those so-called heretics of the thirteenth century, and many of the "Friends of God" in the fourteenth. Savonarola's whole mind is set on the furtherance of goodness and truth; he demands a pure heart and moral earnestness in the life. But he lacks the impregnable ground of faith;—the Bible, with its clear Gospel for its keystone, and its free Christian Church. Hence he places his trust in outward things, nay, even in his wonder-working powers; he

inveighs against art; he thinks to confute his opponents by prodigies rather than by the Bible and a good life. The end of it all was that he went to the stake under Alexander VI., in profound sorrow of soul, yet not in despair.

If we now contemplate the whole series of phenomena presented by the successive developments of religious consciousness in the prophets of the Western Mediæval Church (for the Eastern has no prophets to display, but only emperors, empresses, and imperial courtiers, court theologians, and monks of the palace), we shall perceive, from the time of St. Augustine down to the finest minds under Julius II. and Leo X., a fatal descending progress; from the oppressive sense that present realities were doomed to perdition, down to an unmeasured despondency concerning the whole course of human affairs.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PERSECUTED WALDENSIAN CHURCH CONCERNING GOD'S PRESENCE IN THE WORLD.

WHEN the cities of Southern France,—Toulouse, Grenoble, and Lyons,—were in the flower of their prosperity, about the year 1170, *Peter Waldo*, a citizen of Lyons, felt himself impelled by an ardent and holy longing to make himself acquainted with the sacred Scriptures, especially the Gospels. He caused a translation of the New Testament to be prepared for his use, and committed it to memory. Thus equipped, he began to preach to the poorer classes (those who wore wooden shoes, or *sabots*, whence their nickname of "*Sabotiers*" or "*Xabatati*") the doctrines of the Sermon on the Mount, in order to kindle a spark of true Christianity in their hearts, and persuade them to lead a life becoming followers of Christ and the Apostles. Persecuted by the Archbishop of that diocese, he took refuge in Dauphiny, and from Dauphiny fled to the Alps of Savoy. In the account which Neander and Giseler[1] have given of his career and doctrines, they have adhered very closely to the historical truth on either side. It is certain that Peter Waldo had some acquaintance with earlier teachers and Christians who had held evangelical views, "even since Pope Sylvester has caused a different doctrine to prevail" (the age of Constantine), but it is equally certain that he remained within the bosom of the Romish Church until he was expelled from it, and that he ordained preachers of the Gospel and the

[1] See his *Kirchengeschichte*, B. ii. 1, Kap. 7, § 86, and his review of Herzog's excellent work in the *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeiger*, Nos. 47–60.

Spirit when the priests would have no more to do with him. He appealed for his justification to those words of the Apostle Peter, Acts v. 29 and 32 :—

"Then Peter and the other Apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men. . . . And we are his witnesses of these things; and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him."

An appeal which has appeared to a highly learned Lutheran Professor, Dr. Wiekhof, of Göttingen, equally inconceivable and reprehensible, while, on the other hand, he pronounces a panegyric on the Preaching Orders of the Romish Church!

It was not long before the Waldenses were overtaken by a storm of bloody persecution. Yet it is precisely from this quarter, and from this alone, that our ears are greeted by hymns of praise, breathing bright hopes for the Christian world; accents of trust, based on the Bible, in that Divine Providence which conducts mankind, though by dark paths, up to a final victory upon this earth! Here, among these persecuted Waldenses, we seem to catch once more the echoes of the martyr-Church of the second and third centuries. The most ancient and authentic monument of this Church is: "*The noble Sermon*" (*La Nobla Leyczon*), composed about the end of the twelfth century. We will present its substance to our readers. After describing the signs of the evil days and of the approaching subversion of that society,

"In which the evil ever grows, and goodness minishes,"

the poet stirs up his hearers to the zealous fulfilment of the divine will, which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have made known to us for our salvation; to which salvation we shall attain if we love God and our neighbour with a pure heart, and are mindful of the divine law, which, alas! mankind have continually broken from Adam onwards. Thus did Abel, who placed his trust in God and not in

the creature, like those who worship idols; and then the poet proceeds :—

"That which was quite against the Law, that was from the beginning—the Law of nature, as it is called: it is common to all our race, implanted by the Father's hand in the heart of His first offspring, forbidding to him the path of sin, commanding him to walk in goodness' ways. . . . In the mirror of this natural Law let us behold ourselves, and see how boundless is the sum of our evil doings and transgressions against our Maker and against the creatures of His hand. A noble Law it was, in truth, that God bestowed on us, and on the tablets of each heart hath He inscribed it plain: that we should love the Lord our God with all our heart and mind, and that no creature share the love and reverence due to Him. Moreover, this Law teacheth us to keep the noble bond of wedlock pure and undefiled, to live in peace and love with all our brethren of mankind, to abhor pride and cherish a lowly spirit, and ever do to others as we would that they should do to us."

Next follows the history of the kingdom of God from the flood up to Abraham and Moses, the giver of the second Law, and then up to Christ, the founder of the third Law. In this latter portion, special emphasis is laid on the discourses of Christ reported in the Gospels, and on his act of redemption. "*The Noble Sermon*" next proceeds to treat of the Apostles and the early Churches, with their confessors, who are steadfast even unto death:

"Who have endured great torments, as it is written, for nothing but because they have shown to others the way of Jesus Christ. Such iniquities were the oppressors not ashamed to commit, for that they lacked all faith in Jesus Christ, just like those who now accuse and persecute the saints—who, indeed, bear the name of Christians, but give evil witness thereunto. Such oppressors shall receive rebuke, but the saints consolation. For neither does Scripture command nor reason teach that they should thus persecute and imprison holy men. Moreover, since the Apostles' days, also, there have been some teachers who have taught the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and there are yet some such to be found in these our days, though only known to a few people. Very earnestly do they desire to show

the way of Jesus Christ, yet they are scarce able to do so because of persecutions; so greatly hath error blinded the eyes of the most part, and above all of those who call themselves shepherds of the people, though they persecute and slay the best of their flock, while they leave liars and deceivers in peace. . . For if there be one who will not revile, or curse, or lie, or commit adultery, or kill, or take his neighbour's goods, or avenge himself of his own enemies, then they say, 'He is a Waldensian, and worthy of punishment,' and bring up lying and deceitful accusations against him. But strong consolation doth he obtain who suffereth for the honour of his Lord, for after death the kingdom of heaven is prepared for him."

The poet then turns to display the opposite picture. He who is guilty of breaking all the commandments is called a prudent and righteous man, if, when his end approaches, he makes confession of his sins, and, instead of restoring his ill-gotten gains, bestows them all or in part on the priest, that he may grant him absolution and say a mass for his soul; the more the sinner gives the more is he commended. It is a very different Christianity which is preached by a true shepherd of the Church. Such an one will admonish and rebuke with the words of Christ and with his own example of spiritual poverty of heart and unfeigned humility. Now those who keep that third Law, which is now in force, will obtain thereby the victory over their enemies. So runs this joyful prophecy:—

"This is the way in which we must walk, and to which we must keep, if we would love and follow Jesus Christ; we must practise spiritual poverty of heart, lead a chaste life, love God in humbleness of mind. For then we shall be followers in the steps of Jesus Christ, and obtain the victory over our enemies."

So here again we have Three Ages of the world. The reign of evil begins with the hierarchical Church of Constantine, in which, however, there has always remained a remnant of pious preachers. But now the time has come to set to work in earnest to build up the kingdom

of God. It was clearly the same conception and purpose with that which had fired the soul of the visionary hermit of Calabria; but with these Christians all is to be accomplished for and in the Church at large, not for monks and not by monks. The preaching is founded on the clear moral precepts of the Gospel, not on the mysteries concealed in numbers, nor on revelations vouchsafed in visions and dreams. The innate apprehension of God implanted in our conscience, on the one hand, and the outward history of God's kingdom contained in the Bible on the other—these are our divinely given guides to a life of blessedness. This is the faith which Christians are now-a-days, as of old, called to bear witness to, to live for, and, if need be, to die for. But if they do so, victory is certain to be theirs; first here on earth, and then to every individual soul in the world to come, at the Judgment-day. The poem concludes thus:—

"The Redeemer shall say to them, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, enter into the kingdom that hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world, where joy and heavenly treasures are awaiting you.' May the Lord who hath formed us count us among the number of those who are chosen to enter this kingdom of God!"

A like spirit and confidence are expressed in the Waldensian Confession of Faith, the chief propositions of which are undoubtedly ancient, although the date of 1220, arbitrarily assigned to it at a late period, is certainly not tenable. This Confession declares:—

"We believe in one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"The books of the Old and New Testament teach us that there is one God, who is almighty, all-wise, all-good, who has made all things of His goodness. For He formed Adam after His own image; but through the envy of the Devil and Adam's own disobedience sin came into the world, and we are sinners in and through Adam.

"Christ is our life and peace, our righteousness, our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice, and our high priest. He died for

the salvation of all who believe on Him, and was raised from the dead for our justification.

"We believe that the sacraments are symbols, or the visible form given to holy things, and we believe that Christians are bound from time to time to avail themselves of these forms when it is possible. But we believe also that the believer may be saved without these signs if the opportunity for them is wanting.

"We are subject in reverence and obedience to the secular power, to which we are bound to render service and taxes."

This faith in the ultimate triumph of God upon this earth is well expressed in an old morning hymn of the Bohemian Brethren, who are very nearly allied to the Waldenses:

"Ah, Lord God! hear us, we implore!
Be Thou our guardian evermore,
Our mighty champion and our shield,
Who goeth with us to the field.

"We offer up ourselves to Thee,—
That heart and word and deed may be
In all things guided by Thy mind,
And in Thine eyes acceptance find.

"Thus, Lord, we bring through Christ Thy Son
Our morning offering to Thy throne;
Now be Thy precious gift outpour'd,
And help us for Thine honour, Lord!"[1]

[1] See *Lyra Germanica*, Second Series, p. 69.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PROPHETS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HIERARCHY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

IF we now turn our attention to the prophets of man's sense of God's presence that have arisen in the Western Hierarchical Church during the last great epoch that has elapsed since the Reformation, we are at once struck by the circumstance that very few such present themselves at all on the domain of the religious consciousness. Everywhere we behold an eager activity directed to intellectual and religious subjects, in philosophy, philology, history, literature; but the Church of the hierarchy either holds itself aloof from these movements, or takes them up only in order to be able to hold them in check. As regards our own special topic, up to the present century, there has appeared but one writer deserving of mention—the intellectual and ingenious Bishop of Meaux, under Louis XIV., *Bossuet*, the father of the Gallican Church, which, alas! is now numbered with the things that were; and of his writings, the only one which (with the exception of a few occasional expressions elsewhere) concerns our present purpose is the celebrated "*Lectures on Universal History up to the age of Charlemagne*," which he composed for the use of the then heir to the French throne. This work ought, in all strictness, to be regarded as a theological one; for most of its illustrations and all the proofs it adduces of the existence of a divine order of the world are borrowed from the Bible and from theology.

No doubt the work does indeed assume the position of a learned treatise based on critical research, and, moreover,

of a philosophical argument designed to convince the reason; but it can by no means maintain this position in the eyes of any impartial criticism. Of the three sections of which it consists, the "*Époques*" are, as to all matters making pretension to research, no better than child's play and fable; the "*Développement de la Religion*" is a sermon in which the text of Scripture is either wanting or perverted; and, lastly, "*Les Empires*" is a treatise on politics for the benefit of the Dauphin. Until theology comes into play, Bossuet is free-thinking. The Egyptians are lauded for a wisdom that they did not possess, and the Romans for a humanity that was utterly alien to their minds. The preaching up of absolutism only begins with Constantine, and the recommendation of religious persecution is a triumph reserved for "Louis the Great," with a retrospective allusion, not much in unison with the spirit of the Gospel, to the divine commands to exterminate the Canaanites, given in Exodus, and to the energetic proceedings of Samuel. Of any Divine Order of the world we discern no prophetic intimations in all this; the much-admired flights of "the Eagle of Meaux" are in this direction only visible in abortive attempts to unravel the meaning of prophecy. No doubt we do find in the concluding pages of the whole work a very rational essay on the moral order of the world. But even this does not pass the limits of the Theodicy to be found in the Book of Job and the Psalms; and possesses moreover none of the depth of ethical reflection that we find in those writings. God sets up empires, and casts them down again. He suffers nations to fall into folly, but He raises them up out of it again, and causes their oppressors to be ruined by means of their own successes. His power is unchangeable; the greatest conquerors subserve Him and His counsels unknown to themselves. Brutus overthrew the tyrants, and by the degeneration of liberty into licence prepared his nation for a yet worse tyranny. The Cæsars flattered their soldiers, and so trained them to become

their masters. Thus is all human might compelled to subserve a higher power, and God's counsels alone can march forward according to any orderly sequence.

Now this is all very fair; but what is this counsel of God? In several earlier passages; but more particularly in his concluding sentence, Bossuet gives the prince a hint where to find the key to it. It is the power of religion; therefore, since the date of Christ's return to the bosom of his Father, the power of the Church, by which Bossuet means the bishops and their priests, who are under the guidance of the successors of St. Peter. These are his words:—

"Whereas you have seen nearly all those empires fall by their own hand, while, on the contrary, religion has been able to maintain itself erect by its own power, you will easily be able to determine what greatness is that which alone is destined to endure, and that on which a reasonable man will build his hopes."

Of the many commentaries which the prophet of the Gallican and Roman Church of the seventeenth century supplies in the course of his work to this oft-repeated and well-understood motto of the Bourbons, we will only quote his exhortation to the young prince at the conclusion of the second part of the book. After having forged the chain which, passing down from God through Abraham, Moses, and Christ in an unbroken succession of links, in virtue of the same laws passes then over to the Papal Church, and on which all communion of man with God depends, the Bishop adjures his pupil to hold in abhorrence all that could tend to break this chain, and then adds:—

"Employ all your strength to bring back into this unity all who have departed from it, and to cause men to listen to that Church by which the Holy Ghost has pronounced His oracles.

"It is the glory of your ancestors not only never to have abandoned that Church, but also always to have upheld it; and hence to have earned for themselves the title of her eldest sons, which is, without doubt, the most glorious of all their titles.

"I have no need to speak to you of Clovis, of Charlemagne, of St. Louis. Consider only the times in which you live, and from what a father God has caused you to descend. A king so great in all things is distinguished even more by his faith than by all his other admirable qualities. He protects religion both within and outside of his kingdom, nay, even to the extremities of the world. His laws are one of the firmest ramparts of the Church. His authority, revered no less for the merit of his person than for the majesty of his sceptre, never displays itself more gloriously than when it is defending the cause of God. The voice of blasphemy is silenced; impiety trembles before him; it is the king described by Solomon, who dissipates evil with the glance of his eye. If he attacks heresy by so many methods, and *even more energetically than his predecessors have ever done*, it is not that he fears for his throne; all is tranquil at his feet, and his arms are dreaded throughout the earth. But it is that he loves his subjects, and that, seeing himself elevated by the hand of God to a power that has no equal in the universe, he deems that there is no nobler use to which he can put it than to heal the wounds of the Church.

"Imitate, Sir, so noble an example, and transmit it to your descendants. Recommend to their care the Church, even before this great empire which your ancestors have governed for so many ages. May your august house, the first in dignity on the face of the globe, be the first to defend the rights of God, and to extend over the whole universe the reign of Christ, who has caused them to reign with such illustrious glory!"

Truly "Louis the Great" did do all that lay in his power to do credit to such a prophet, difficult as it might be to come up to his teacher's requirements, and thus surpass the glories of Charles IX. and the massacre of St. Bartholomew! To this the *dragonnades* bear witness, and the ruins of the castle in sight of which these lines are written. What sort of piety reigned within his heart was revealed to all the world after the death of this religious monarch, and under the Regent and his successor. And then the harvest was reaped which this religion and pious zeal had sown, and that Revolution, which we now call the first, supplied the answer to such doctrines and

to the motto, "I am the State." The last of his race plunged himself and his posterity from the throne by taking in earnest the counsel which Bossuet had given the royal house for all ages. And it will fare no better with any other princes who tread under foot justice and the laws in order to demonstrate after this fashion their zeal for the kingdom of God.

How completely this whole tendency runs counter to the all-powerful current of the world's history might easily be shown by two works written at the beginning of this century, both of which take up the prophetic mantle dropped by Bossuet. We refer to *Le Maistre's* book "*Du Pape*," and *Lamennais'* work entitled "*Sur l'Indifférence en matière de Religion.*" Both these acute and ingenious writers have falsified history even more flagrantly than Bossuet, which indeed it was much easier for them to do, amidst the general absence of any critical acquaintance with the Bible and history prevailing in their day. Both have propounded even yet more startling formulas than he, and availed themselves of far more impudent sophisms. Both again have ventured on prediction. And how have their predictions turned out? It must indeed be confessed that since their day the hierarchy has acquired a great accession of influence; but how does it stand with the fruits of that influence? What have been the effects on the moral, political, and social conditions of the countries and empires over which the priesthood has exercised a spiritual domination for the last four hundred years? And how fares it on these points with the model polity, the States of the Church? "The world's history is the world's judgment," and that judgment-day is as yet only at its beginning. We refrain here from entering into details with regard to these and similar modern works, because we have already passed our verdict upon them in "Hippolytus and his Times," and have nothing fresh to add to what we have there said. But one point we cannot omit to notice with respect to all the more recent

writings of this school, especially to those two works of its leaders, who were both very distinguished men—namely, that behind the most unscrupulous sophistry in behoof of ultramontane doctrines (sophistry that would not be unworthy of Adam Müller) there lurks a despair as to the truth of Christianity, and therefore as to the theory of the world enounced by Christ. With both, the ultimate principle is *authority*;—the right of the "office" instituted by God (to use the phraseology of the "new Lutheran party") to create the truth. Le Maistre undertakes an elaborate proof of the thesis that in every polity there must be a deciding authority; that the doctrine of the infallibility of whoever is Pope for the time being, means precisely this; and that it is a duty of faith to hold fast this doctrine. Why? Because otherwise everybody who repairs for guidance to conscience and reason, the Bible and history, would be liable to encounter contradictions!

The more profound intellect of Lamennais, that remarkable priest, who in the last twenty years of his life diverged from his Church and at last renounced it, could not content itself with such a shallow argument. He therefore called in reason to his help; and this bold enterprise landed him in the assertion that all truth, even mathematical, rests in the last resort simply upon authority;—the authority of the reason in the domain which is assigned to her, the authority of the Church (therefore of the Pope) in all matters of faith. This, when we look closely into it, is in truth the profoundest scepticism, revealing a state of inward despair. It is the last tragical attempt of a powerful intellect to show that God is present in history, while banishing Him from the conscience and reason; and to prop up man's wavering faith in the truth revealed by the Church, by exalting the Pope into the place of God and of His highest prophets. His first prophet—the External Universe—they have at last, after fighting against facts for nearly three hundred years, given

up the attempt to master,—though indeed the Romish Primate of Ireland will not permit the earth to go round the sun! But His second prophet—the Human Mind—remains still bound in fetters; God may not reveal Himself through Humanity. Natural science may move freely within certain limits;—but not the enquiring, reflective human intellect, craving after inward truth! "What is truth?" is the last word of Lamennais' religious philosophy.

We now turn our attention to a very dissimilar phenomenon. Ignatius, *Baron von Wessenberg*, who was in the early part of this century already distinguished by his labours when Vicar-General of the Abbey of Constance, in the establishment of religious and moral institutions, has in the past year (1857) added to the many admirable fruits of his researches and reflection, a spiritual bequest to after ages, which fairly entitles him to be called a prophet of man's consciousness of God in the universe and in history. This book, a worthy result of its author's life-long walk with God, is entitled "*God and the World, or the relation of all things to each other and to God.*"[1] It bases itself on the ground of the faith that is common to all Christians, and also of a sober and thoroughly elaborated philosophy. The passages which we shall now quote from it, are a sufficient testimony to the spirit which breathes through this really admirable work. The preface concludes with the pious wish and confession:—

"May the true temper of Christianity come to prevail so universally as to penetrate nobles and peasants, learned and unlearned, clergy and laity, everywhere with the firm conviction that a life which acts out the doctrine of our Divine Redeemer, is the only means wherein we may seek and find a true and complete remedy for the ills of afflicted humanity! Notwithstanding the many specious will-o'-the-wisps and brilliant meteors of unbelief, which dazzle us in this age, we may not

[1] "*Gott und die Welt, oder das Verhältniss aller Dinge zu einander und zu Gott.*" 2 Bde.

doubt that the constraining force of events and circumstances will contribute to render Christianity, in spirit and in truth, ever more and more victorious over all the insidious attempts of human vanity or selfishness to overcloud it, or to outshine it by the lightning flashes of human inventions, and will conduct us evermore, in all stages of human society, to new and happier epochs of progress towards a higher life."

After surveying the proofs of God's presence in creation, he turns to consider historical conditions, of which he says:[1]—

"In the social conditions of this world, God has set before us a problem, the solution or deciphering of which ought unceasingly to occupy the thinking mind, and cause it to rise up to its Author in reverent admiration. Although nothing finite can possess absolute perfection, yet for every finite being a relative perfection *of its own kind* is conceivable; and the capacity of attaining this in every step of the whole great ascending ladder of beings, testifies to their common origin from the One Infinitely Perfect Being. Not only do all things stand in an ordered relation to each other, but it is only its connection with all the rest that gives to each thing its subsistence and continuance. When this connection is dissolved, it ceases to be that which it is, and becomes something else; and then a new set of relations springs up. Every member of the whole subserves every other, and all subserve the whole. Just as each object in the universe has its determinate immediate cause, so has it also its determinate immediate purpose. From which we may infer that no less has the universe itself its proper purpose, which is assigned to it by its Author. But in reference to the designs or purposes of God, either as touching the whole or individuals, man must seek to expand the range of his conceptions to the utmost, in order that he may not transfer his own limitations to the Infinite One. All beings are the instruments employed by God, in the guidance of His universe. But to man is the pre-eminent privilege accorded of being a voluntary instrument, and of rendering a voluntary obedience to the voice of his conscience as the voice of God."

[1] I. s. 54, etc.

And again at the end of the first volume[1] our author expresses similar sentiments in the following passage :—

"Individual men and entire nations are alike, whether they intend it or no, constrained to pursue through many turnings and windings the path of conflict and trials, covered with mist and darkened by clouds, which God has appointed them to traverse. Those who recognize His finger here, He will not suffer to come to an evil end. There are brilliant, and apparently fortunate successes which are really the severest punishments, inasmuch as they dazzle and blind; while defeat may become the greatest benefit, and be turned into triumph, when those who have suffered it discern therein a summons to more arduous effort. The wisest man becomes a fool, the mightiest a bauble, so soon as he forgets that wisdom and power reside in One alone, with Whom it rests to impart them to the children of men. He alone can survey at a glance the long chain of causes whose successive links have led up, unperceived by mortal eye, to the actual issues of events, which generally turn out quite otherwise than even the most sagacious observers have anticipated. The wisest and mightiest upon earth have contributed, and must ever in their undertakings contribute, to the accomplishment of that world-plan known only to Him Who has traced it. Wondrous, too, are God's ways in this, that they even educe salutary consequences out of errors and follies. 'Perhaps God has ofttimes designed to show,' writes the aged Comenius, 'what men cannot do without Him, in order to display in future ages what He can do without men, or through them, when He has once brought them into conformity to His will.'"

In his reflections on the progressive development of the Divine upon earth, Wessenberg includes the State equally with the Church—art and science equally with social relations.[2] Speaking of the Church, he says :—

"The Church cannot give her authority and efficiency any other solid and impregnable basis *than a pure and living religious belief, attested by a* VIRTUOUS LIFE AND A CHARITY *that is active in every direction.* It is only that which she has built upon these rocks—which include the whole substance of Christianity—that will withstand all storms and assaults. Any union of Christians to which these foundations are wanting is as good

[1] I. s. 465. [2] II. 337.

as none. The source of faith as well as of love is God. It is only from faith that Christian love can draw its vital energy. Without that, love would have no roots, and must fade away like flowers when severed from their root; while, on the other hand, faith must be dead unless it bring forth love. The Christian faith itself has no other object but that blessing-bringing love which has its perfection in God. The doctrine must approve itself by the life. Hence it is the business of the Church and all her institutions to promote the practice of the commandment of love by the purity and ardour of faith; and again to sustain and bear witness to the faith by these deeds of love. To this end did Christ vouchsafe to His disciples and their Union—the Church—the promise that He would send the Holy Ghost who should carry on His work throughout all ages by the power of truth and love."

After a heart-rending survey of the distracted state and multiform evils of the present age which reveal themselves in all our social conditions, our author concludes with the following address to his readers:—

"If I ought to conclude the foregoing reflections by giving some answer to the great question, What is the most infallible remedy for all the evil and misery that is under the sun? my answer must simply be this: Let us all be or become Christians—Christians in the full sense of the word,—and with all the energies we possess! Let us, therefore, renouncing all mere show, strive diligently that the spirit of loving brotherhood may become the foundation and soul of human society! The more this is brought to pass, the more will society be delivered from the woes of penury and wretchedness, in so far as the imperfection of our nature permit, and the golden age of humanity will become no more a dream."

Posterity will accord the greater admiration to the Christian and philosophical equanimity, and the unshaken faith of the venerable saint, when they learn that he has had to endure heavy trials from the arrest or reversal of all the reforms that he endeavoured, and in some instances with signal blessing, to introduce into the Roman Catholic Church of Germany. But in his native land his memory will be held in everlasting honour.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN ARYANS AND THEIR PROPHETS OF GOD'S PRESENCE IN HISTORY SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

IF we compare the objects of the consciousness of God's presence in history possessed by mankind, but especially by the Christian portion of it, with the fundamental and governing thoughts and beliefs of the Reformation, the most characteristic of these may perhaps be summed up in the five following propositions, in the substance of which all the Reformers of the sixteenth century agree, and on the belief of which all the Churches and peoples of renovated Christendom have built up their institutions, although it was but by slow degrees that they arrived at a full recognition of the nature and extent of the spiritual liberty of the Gospel.

### FIRST PROPOSITION.

*The congregation in the full sense of the word, the "whole company of faithful people," and not the clergy alone, constitute the Church.*

Thus religion, in an active and not merely a passive sense, is the business of the nation, as the people of God, and hence nothing can form an essential part of religion which concerns only the clergy. That which is common to all,—the Moral Element,—is the organ of communication with God, and the Reason is its exponent.

### Second Proposition.

*The whole Church as thus defined is the depositary of man's consciousness of God in the public worship of Him.*

Consequently the public worship must be *intelligible* to all, because otherwise it is unprofitable, and *scriptural*, because otherwise it would be arbitrary. And hence, again, it must consist partly in instruction, because otherwise it would not be "a *reasonable* service;" and lastly, it must be a worship *of God alone*,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

### Third Proposition.

*The Collective Community, in its national capacity, ought to represent a People of God.*

From which it follows that it must possess a constitution conformable to the principles of Christianity, therefore to morality, both in Church and State. Everything lawless,—therefore a sovereignty unlimited by law, whether it take the shape of absolutism or of anarchy, of hierarchy or of individualism,—is incompatible with the acknowledgment of the Gospel, because it is a practical denial of that Kingdom of God which is proclaimed in the Gospel.

### Fourth Proposition.

*There is no difference between spiritual or religious acts (so-called "good works") and secular acts.*

Thus marriage and family discipline are holy, but neither celibacy nor auricular confession is so; thus art and poetry are holy, and involve a recognition of God, whether they belong to the class termed sacred or profane. The acting out of the principle of the Reformation consists in the progressive divinization of what relates to this world.

## FIFTH PROPOSITION.

*A Personal Faith is the condition of inward peace in God. But this personal faith necessarily involves free conviction, therefore free enquiry and free speculation on the results thereof, though carried on under a sense of responsibility to God;—and this again presupposes freedom of conscience and of thought.*

But if so, the range of contemplation is instantly expanded, as though we were stepping out of a cloister into the wide world. Yet at the same moment a sanctity is conferred upon all the actual details of life. For language, art, and science, equally with the popular life and the State, become imbued with a new life, if the Gospel be accepted as their principle of existence. The whole history of mankind can present nothing comparable to the transformation already wrought by this principle, though it has been in operation as yet barely three hundred years. It is only since the Reformation, and only in consequence of the Reformation, that there have existed nations who carry their conscience within them, and States which derive their legitimization from that conscience and the loyal hearts of their citizens. The groundwork is laid for a new development of Humanity, worthy to rank beside that of the ancient world, and the wall of partition between Semite and Aryan, between intention and act, between faith and knowledge, has been broken down, at least potentially.

In this portion of our work, as hitherto, we shall first consider the leading facts which seem to embody the consciousness of the Community, and afterwards that of the Individuals who have been its prophets; beginning with those who have occupied themselves with theology, and afterwards passing to those who have selected the philosophical point of view.

It was a very deplorable but very explicable error which Luther committed when he made the question of the "real presence" of Christ,—therefore of God,—in the Sacrament the starting-point, nay, to some extent, the crucial proof, of theological belief, and so constituted it the test of Christian community of faith. For, as we have seen, this question was not even one suggested by the Scriptures, but had, in fact, originated in a theological error, and the whole subsequent process of its development was nothing but the course of a malady. But this should not cause the historian and philosopher to forget that no one has insisted more strenuously than Luther on the nullity of the Lord's Supper apart from the Communion. From the first, Luther taught and preached that whatever might take place in regard to the symbols of Christ's body, the grace of which they were the channels, was conditional on their reception by believers, and not something indwelling in the elements themselves. Calvin and Zwingle both disentangled their minds from that original theological error, which, according to sound rules of exegesis, really finds no support in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, except by an arbitrary interpretation of that chapter. But even Calvin took the same point of departure with Luther in the arguments he adduced in behalf of his more spiritual view. One might almost say that he arbitrarily took up his stand on the ground adopted by the fifth century, or, in some respects, that of the ninth century; whereas Luther overstepped the limits reached by the conceptions of Berengarius, and went forward to those of the thirteenth century. Neither Calvin nor Zwingle ever carried their reasonings far enough distinctly to entertain the idea of restoring the ancient conception of the Christian Sacrifice;—that idea according to which the solemn commemorative meal is conjoined with the vow of the congregation as an act of grateful love on the part of the whole body, and of every living member thereof. Possibly they shrank from ex-

pressing this thought, under the fear lest the communion with God should be sought in the external utterance of the vow rather than in the piety of the life itself. For to interpenetrate all the details of actual daily life with the sense of God's presence was the great underlying thought and aim of the Reformation. At that time the two things most urgently needed by the Christian peoples for their public worship of God were :—*First*, a faithful and popularly intelligible translation and exposition of the Bible ; *secondly*, a worthy mode of expression for spiritual thought and emotion in Sacred Song and in Prayer, no less than in the Sermon. And, in effect, the translation of the Bible, and the composition of spiritual songs, whether hymns or psalms, were, as we all know, the earliest products of the Reformation. Both are the offspring of inspiration in the same sense as art and mental culture. The various translations of the Bible consecrated the respective languages into which they were rendered ; they expanded and elevated the intellect of the Aryan peoples by bringing them into immediate contact with the actual ideas and modes of expression that had swayed the heart of Humanity from Abraham up to the Maccabees. The prodigious importance of this achievement is not to be expressed. It is the consummation of the inward fellowship, nay, as it were, the marriage, of the two great families of nations who have up to this time shaped the destinies of Humanity.

No less momentous is the second achievement—the creation of spiritual poesy adapted for the use of the common people in their public and domestic worship. The most perfect vehicle of expression which the Christian spirit has shaped for itself is the *Hymn* for public worship created by Luther. It is the form peculiar to the Aryans of the New Covenant ; and the psalmody of the French and English Protestant Churches, though it touches our German hearts less closely, has also its good and sufficient claims to recognition. On this domain, the

German popular mind has far surpassed the achievements of the Latin Church; while in the Greek Church, the hymn and *chorale*, which are the creation of St. Ambrose, are entirely unknown. What the German mind has accomplished in this field has not as yet been equalled, much less surpassed, anywhere else. If this is true of the individual hymns, much more is it so of the magnificent whole, which presents itself in the general arrangement of the hymn-books for public and private devotion. For if, as has already been done with more or less distinct design from very early times, we arrange these hymns according to the history of the revelation made to us of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and thus, as it were, place each single leaf of that prophecy vouchsafed to the worshipping mind in its proper organic position, from the Creation onwards, up to the struggle and final victory of the life of the Spirit in the Church, we shall have before us an *Epos* in lyric songs, whose subject is the most sublime possible, nay, unique in its sublimity because truly divine, and of which the execution is not, on the whole, unworthy of its exalted conception. There is nothing in the collective literature of mankind which so nearly approaches the Holy Scriptures, and so completely reproduces their spirit unfettered by dogmatic systems and formulas, as that mass of spiritual songs, to whose composition kings and artisans, men and women, clergy and laity, to the number of above three hundred (taking only the more important names), have alike contributed, and which constitutes the only continuous and connected series of literature which those three centuries possess.

The next offspring and, so to speak, transcript of the Bible was the collection of *Prayers* for public and domestic worship. For these there already existed in the primitive liturgies many beautiful monuments of true devout piety, especially in the short morning and evening prayers of the Greek Church, composed in the fifth and sixth centuries, and in the Collects of the Latin Church.

Luther availed himself of nearly the whole of the latter, and the Anglican Church in particular followed his footsteps in this path. Many, too, of those Greek prayers have here and abroad found their way out of the formularies originally designed exclusively for the use of the clergy, into the books of common prayer used by millions. It was only by carrying out the principle that all Christians alike are priests unto God, that the practice of family and private worship could become an established usage and element of daily life for the common people. But it was not long before the Holy Spirit poured down to this end, into huts and palaces by turns, that gift of free utterance which He is wont to bestow in all seasons of extraordinary religious awakening. Yet at the same time the need was felt of some authorized collection of the already existing hymns and prayers, in which the believers of all ages had reflected their thoughts and experiences. The object aimed at was the production of a spiritual popular manual that should be *The Book of the Church.* Hence, if we duly consider the requirements of the case, we may affirm with justice that since the Canon of Scripture was closed for all time, Humanity has produced nothing which for the solid worth of its contents in relation to the religious apprehension, whether of the individual human heart or of the Church at large, can be compared either with the Hymn-book of the German Church, including the prayers for special occasions, or the Common Prayer-book of the English Church. Both are the joyful "Amen" of Humanity to the glad message of the Bible; both are the work of the Spirit of God operating through the Church.

We must remark here too that the improvement and sanctification of sacred *Music* naturally followed upon the birth of these spiritual hymns; and so in like manner, the worship of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost formed the new living groundwork of *Ecclesiastical Architecture.* So soon as the congregation stood forth as the only true temple

of God, and great eternal mystery, it became possible to conceive the idea of restoring the ancient Christian *basilica*, and out of the cathedrals, minsters, and saints' shrines of the perplexed Mediæval Period, to create a style of edifice that on the one hand should possess an historical character free from the overweening influence of the antique, and, on the other, should be adapted for popular use, and rich in germs of future development. And further, the faith thus renovated next created in addition new structures, unlike any hitherto known, of so-called secular architecture, adapted to the requirements of the community.

The turning of the *Sermon* into the central point of the service has likewise its living, not rhetorical roots in the Reformation, in so far, that is to say, as the preaching is not simply an argumentative and critical exposition of the word of God, but itself a word from God—the message of the Spirit to the Church and from the Church. Nor is any fact clearer than that this preaching was the parent of a noble learned language, which was the permanent groundwork of our prose, and by means of which the Church, i. e. the Christian people, men and women from their youth up, were brought into contact with the highest mental culture of their nation, while the culture itself was sanctified from its birth, and preserved from all antagonism to the religious element. We shall have occasion hereafter to advert more in detail to the influence exerted by this circumstance on the whole tone of modern literature.

Now this preaching, no less than education in general, must be based essentially on the proper understanding of the *Bible*; and this involved a study of the original languages and history of the books of Scripture. But with this, the wall of partition was at once thrown down that had been interposed to bar the study of that classical antiquity which had conducted numbers of the priesthood to ungodliness and immorality, or to intellectual hostility

to Christianity. Philology, forming, in combination with history and philosophy, the three pillars on which is reared the whole edifice of modern culture, was sanctified and dedicated to be an organ of the Divine. But at the same time, philology was expanded into the investigation and study of the history of the whole human race. It was soon discovered that the Hebrew terms and conceptions employed in the Bible could not be explained without an acquaintance with Syrian and Arabic words and ideas. Thus there grew up what is called an Oriental philology, which only needed to be pushed forward a few steps further to place Aryan philology in its whole extra-European expanse side by side with the Semitic family of languages, and bring the two into a connection fruitful in results of the highest importance for the whole history of our race. Even Goethe in his day already remarked that all these consequences had sprung from the study of the Bible. But there is another circumstance to be taken into account which goes yet deeper. The whole intrinsic relation of those three main pillars of European culture towards the intellectual and ethical beliefs of the nation was essentially determined by the question whether or no mental culture was to be regarded as a portion of religion —of man's apprehension of the Divine taken in the widest sense. It is only when culture is through and through pervaded by that sense of the Divine that it can ever attain its full bloom; nay, without that, it cannot even strike firm root.

Now it is, however, an indubitable historical fact, that the countries of the Reformation are those in which the study of Mind in those three directions has been carried on with the greatest zeal, perseverance, and success. And it is an equally certain matter of fact that the first impulse to this mighty intellectual movement—the central mainspring of this entire new creation—has been the resuscitation of man's sense of a true, real, unique, operative presence of God in the ecclesiastical community, and consequently

in the fellowship of the household, and of the individual Churches founded thereon. Worship became no longer an adoration of the elements, nor yet a mere group of symbolical and allegorical observances,—no longer a merely representative and mediatorial act, the counterfeit of actual life,—but the sacred vestibule of the life itself. A Church commensurate with Humanity stood forth, called to confess, to receive, and to proclaim the Spirit of Christ from day to day. Devoutness was no longer spell-bound to this or that locality; but the Spirit of God hallowed house and home—nay, if need be, field or forest—into a temple of worship. Prayer was no longer an external, prescribed, meritorious act; but was, like daily life, an outflow from the heart. The priest was the father of the family, or whoever might take his place. Such a spectacle the world had never seen as yet, save in the assemblies of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren. But now whole nations sprang to life under the quickening touch of this consciousness, and rose to be world-wide empires, and yet free.

This leads us to our next topic of consideration—the religious consciousness evinced in the *Constitution* of the Reformed Churches. The first and third of the propositions with which we introduced this chapter, according to which the presence of God is conceived to reside in the whole body of the congregation, could not fail in the nature of things to lead to two practical results on the constitution of this body. The constitution is, or ought to be, the expression of the life of the Church in, but as distinguished from, the world. Hence, we mean, of her members at once in their ecclesiastical and no less in their political relationships—the Christian people, regarded on the one hand as the collective body of worshippers bound together by solemn vows; and, on the other hand, this same Christian people as the body which feels itself under a solemn obligation to apply the religious belief thus professed and consecrated to the practical

realities of life. But these practical realities include, not only the family which is to be regenerated by a pure morality; they include also the highest representative of the ethical principle—the State—and thus the world becomes the seedfield of the Church.

Free was the persecuted Christian community when it entered the Roman Empire, but very much the reverse of free do we find it at the close of the Middle Ages; and what slight germs or remnants it still possesses of a free constitution, visibly shrivel up as the new era advances.

If Christianity were a truth, and if the Reformation intended honestly to proclaim and vigorously to restore the sway of that truth, it must needs begin with the ecclesiastical community, but it could not fail to end with a political reform. What sort of a Christianity is that which feels no constraining impulse to make reason and conscience supreme in the realm of legislation? What sort of a faith is that which reveals no power to kindle a new life, when it is a question of manifesting God's presence in the relations between the authorities and the people?

As a matter of fact, the Reformation began, like Christianity itself, with the sanctification of the very groundwork of civil society—the marriage bond, and family discipline. It recognized no enforced celibacy of the clergy, but it recognized a spiritual union between wedded couples, a co-operation of man and wife in the training up of a Christian household in the fear of God.

But even to accomplish this, they required not only freedom of conscience—that is to say, the free, legalized exercise of their religion—but also civil liberty, that they might be protected against oppression; therefore against any ungodly proceedings in the Church. Neither religious nor civil liberty is conceivable in the modern world without freedom of thought and of the press. How all-important, then, that all these blessings should be striven after—all these requirements satisfied, in accord-

ance with the aims and spirit of a God-fearing individual and nation; not with that spirit which takes account of nothing beyond this world, but only recognizes the rights of natural self-interest; in other words, the spirit that tends to enmity and disintegration. In the first case, mutual understanding and reform are the aims striven after; in the latter, insurrection and revolution are at our doors. In the former case, respect is challenged for that Humanity which is the image of God; in the latter, is demanded the abolition of the restrictions placed upon the exercise of human rights by the individual. In the one case, there is a direct, immediate sense of God's presence that speaks at once to the inmost heart of the people; in the latter, everything depends upon the very uncertain dictates of intelligence separated from God in the individual and in the nation; and the only safeguard against caprice or violence on the part of the Government is the sentiment of respect for Law, as something higher than the actual possession of power. In the former case, love forms the starting-point; in the latter, hatred. In the former, the goal of effort is the promotion of the common weal by self-abnegation, of the common liberty by a generous, unselfish administration of the common revenues; in the latter, the endeavour to abrogate the restraints imposed upon the free action of the individual; and the equality of all before the law, with no higher theory of the State than that which regards it as a species of insurance company.

Now, if we look at the history of the modern world with an unprejudiced eye, what does it display to us? In the countries where the Reformation has taken root, civil liberty has been the fruit of ecclesiastical liberty and of the faith in God, in Christ, and in the Holy Ghost that proceedeth from the Father and the Son. A liberty which, originally the daughter of the Gospel, has afterwards become the protector and defence of her parent against aggressions from without. In the countries that have adhered to the Romish Church, the open warfare waged by the authorities against mental liberty has issued

in the degradation of the noblest nations from a position of freedom and power to servitude and impotence, nay, in some cases extinguished nationality altogether.

But we have not yet said all, when we have acknowledged that civil liberty owes both its origin and maintenance to the sense of religion; there is another point which has had a most important bearing upon the world's history, and that we ought not to overlook; namely, the marvellous capability for progress exhibited by the polities thus founded during the last three hundred and fifty years, whether as regards the scope of their liberties or the susceptibility to further improvement possessed by the forms which that freedom has engendered.

Its first beginnings were glorious, but very limited in extent. Even in those countries where the nation was retained in a protracted political nonage by reason of the imperfect development of the conception of the Christian Church, either in respect of its cultus or constitution, a very considerable amelioration was soon perceptible in the spirit of the administration; and in the towns more particularly, intelligence and good intention went hand in hand. But the mother-country of the Reformation was not strong enough to uphold the unity and freedom of the fatherland against the united forces of the most powerful princely house and the Romish hierarchy (which was itself a princely power in the empire); all that could be accomplished was petty and piecemeal, and it was only by dint of superhuman exertions that everything did not go to ruin. All power for action lay in the hands of the Protestant Princes, who were sovereign masters within their own dominions; and these were, with the exception of the House of Brandenburg, simply intent upon the aggrandisement of their respective dynasties. But all of them willingly allowed themselves by degrees to be persuaded by their servile-minded jurisconsults that they were not simply the protectors but also the lords over, and supreme bishops of the Church. The free cities had

for the most part fallen into the hands of close corporations, which cherished the same lust of power. Even the Calvinistic Churches in Germany did not succeed in establishing any complete synodal constitution with a free government. The decline of Germany from her leading rank among the nations must indeed be ascribed in the first place to the refusal of the House of Hapsburg to associate itself with the Reform of the Church; but the responsibility for it must also to no small extent rest with the incomplete solution which the problem of the Reformation received in the countries where it was accepted. The development of religious consciousness on ecclesiastical questions did not advance beyond the first rudimentary stage. The national mind carried the Church along with it, not the Church the mind of the nation.

The results were very different where the sense of the presence of God received an application also to political questions. The loose bonds which held together the Helvetic Cantons were not dissolved by the breaking out of their religious dissensions, and at the close of the contest, the element of Gospel liberty emerged triumphant, notwithstanding the incomplete constitution of the Confederacy. But how much more powerful was the influence exercised by this element on Europe at large through the heroic struggle carried on by the United Provinces of the Netherlands against Spanish tyranny! The contest began with the defence of liberty of conscience; it was continued and carried out by faith in the Gospel. A new nation, with a new country, rose as it were from the waves, which, after struggling through inward as well as outward conflicts, stood forth as the champion of freedom of belief, long before England enjoyed that privilege. All the public documents relating to the revolt, from its outset to its close, take their stand upon the defence of a liberty to believe in the Gospel; and the internal history of Holland up to the present day, even with all its defects and blots, still exhibits a hitherto unexampled develop-

ment of power springing from freedom; while that freedom again is based on the religious sentiment of the nation.

When at last England, in consequence of her revolt against the twofold tyranny of James II., carried out with the help of the great Dutch Prince of Orange, received a free Constitution, with secure guarantees, and honestly acknowledged the principle of religious freedom in her treatment of Dissenters, the world beheld the highest development of a free single State;—namely, a Constitutional Monarchy. And this was the fruit of the return of the Church to the principles of the Gospel, with the consequences that ensued thereupon. How great was the inward strength that accrued thereby to both the people and the State, the last forty years have displayed still more visibly than the hundred and thirty that had gone before. But the history of our own days shows us also that the religious belief which was the soul of this movement is far from being forgotten, still less forsaken. On the contrary, that religious sentiment has grown more powerful in the same proportion as the principle of Gospel liberty has been consistently carried out, and therefore applied to Ireland also.

Constitutional Monarchy is the perfect form of a free individual State, because it unites in the happiest manner the three principles of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. The reconciliation of antagonistic elements thus effected is a triumph of Christian religious consciousness. To the nations of antiquity it was an unattainable object of aspiration. It rests partly upon a trust which has its roots in the fundamental relationships of life—in the family and the individual congregation; partly upon a yet higher power—that power which sanctifies all relationships—which nothing but a deeply grounded personal faith in the presence of the Eternal can give or has ever given.

The surmounting of a still greater antagonism is, how-

ever, conceivable,—namely, the union of several independent, but in their nature essentially homogeneous, States into one extensive and yet free Empire. Hitherto the union of freedom with great empires, such as the Roman Empire was and the Russian Empire is, has proved impracticable. Yet forasmuch as a great Empire of this kind has actually grown up in Europe, and two equally powerful, though not territorially co-extensive, military States occupy, together with Russia, the major part of Europe, it is of most urgent importance that the Christian spirit should also show itself able to deal with this antagonism. Such an attempt has been made eighty years since in the British settlements, out of which the vast Empire of the United States has grown up. For the first time in history has the world beheld a strong organic federal State, resting on such simple principles respecting the relation of the Union to the several States, that this new form of polity is even capable of being applied to a monarchy. Just as the rural commune of the Teutons has taken the place of the free city of antiquity, without thereby assuming a hostile attitude towards the free cities; and at a later period the free monarchical single State has gradually grown up in consequence of the Reformation, and risen to the rank of one of the great powers of the world, so may every great single State in like manner, should its circumstances and conformation naturally lead to such a result, take the shape of a federal State, without changing its form of government, or else associate itself with such a State. Only here, too, in virtue of the law which we have found to prevail universally throughout the whole course of history, the work must take its rise from some root of religious consciousness. Now this has been most signally the case in the formation of the United States. The Pilgrim Fathers wandered forth that their consciences might suffer no constraint, and that, as they declare in the ever-memorable document put forth on their embarkation from Holland, they might be able to

disseminate and foster the kingdom of God in new lands, and so present to God a Church that should be well-pleasing in His sight. Thus arose New England. Not long after the founding of that State, a similar refuge from oppression, and scene of labour wherein to plant the faith, was sought by William Penn, who, in our own days, has been most unjustly calumniated and maligned; and thus was there formed in Pennsylvania a second germinal point from which a new Christian social life was to spring up. And to-day the birth of a no less important Federal Empire is announced to be at hand: the English Government has itself proposed this form of constitution for the British Possessions in North America. So, too, in various quarters of the continent at our antipodes—Australia—we behold States, in which, though as yet only in the first stage of germination, the tendency towards this formation is already apparent. In those States, it is not bayonets and brandy that have been the pioneers, as in the disgraceful attack of the French on Tahiti, of which nothing but mischief has come as yet; no, the pioneers have been missionaries and Christian families, with the Bible in their hands. And where has new life budded forth in ancient Asia save by the agency of evangelical ambassadors of the faith, who do not address themselves to the priesthood, but to the peoples of noble and once highly civilized races, to whom nothing but the Gospel can impart a new political life? For to exchange one human lord in God's place for another, is what the peoples of Asia will not consent to do; but they are willing enough to receive regeneration and liberty at the hands of the Gospel.

Thus the progress of durable and truly legalized freedom—that is to say, of self-sacrificing self-government—is identical with the progress of religious consciousness, and the progress of this consciousness is equivalent to that of the kingdom of God. The advance was made step by step from town to rural commune, from commune to province, from province to empire; from a simple

municipal, whether democratic or aristocratic, Republic to a free monarchical State; from the isolated to the federative State. And this is a progress which has changed the face of the world; and has done so, moreover, in more or less accordance with the spirit of the Gospel announced by Christ. Beneath the influence of that spirit, in the first place, marriage has been hallowed, because declared to be not incompatible with a spiritual life, but, on the contrary, conducive to it. The next step was to enfranchise all the members of the household and abolish the African slave trade—the last curse which Spain left behind her in America. What still remains of slavery in that land is an anomaly, the removal of which involves a great problem for humanity—namely, the creation of black and creole States in those countries where the Anglo-Saxon can no longer live and govern, because he can no longer work. Side by side with all these blessings freedom of conscience and of thought flourish in their true sense because they are recognized to be organs of the kingdom of God.

From what has been said, it follows as a matter of course that with such a revolution of the religious consciousness in the cultus and constitution of the Church, new priests should be called of God to serve in the newly opened sanctuary, and new prophets awakened to form the personal organ of the Spirit, and thus to constitute the creative force in Humanity. For we have always found it hitherto, without exception, to be a law of development, that that which takes the shape of Nature in the community is preceded and accompanied by the sustaining creative energy of some conscious Personal Mind. What, then, are the facts with regard to art and poetry, to works of history and philosophy, which meet us in the period we are now considering?

Religious consciousness in Art has a twofold basis. First, in the divine, because creative, nature of art itself; for it is only Spirit that can create a work of art. Mere

Nature, nay, even the life-giving sunlight, can give us no more than a reprint; it is a work of art alone that is a second creation, because it flows straight out of the Idea, out of Thought itself. The second element of the religious consciousness in art does, indeed, reside in its subject, in so far as some subjects are more adapted than others to call forth the religious sentiment. But even here, too, the predominating influence is the mode in which such a subject is artistically conceived, and the extent to which its execution harmonizes with human nature. It is possible to build cathedrals without artistic religious consciousness, and a common dwelling-house under such a consciousness. So, too, while it is possible for a popular national song to reveal an elevated religious consciousness, through its apprehension of the original source of the national life, it is equally possible for a hymn used in public worship to take a very irreligious shape, or for Church music to assume a secular character, nay, even to sink to the level of frivolous and wanton dance music. The progress of religious consciousness in art will therefore consist, first, in the more elevated character of the subjects which it selects, and, secondly, in the growing tendency of the æsthetic consciousness to extend itself over the whole domain of human life, under the sense that every part of our life is susceptible of being made religious.

When, in the age of the Reformation, Christendom, and consequently Humanity, was divided and torn asunder, both sides in common carried with them the goodly heritage of a creative artistic culture which had blossomed forth since the rise of the towns and of civil liberty, during the period from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century, and in some departments had been carried to the highest pitch of perfection. Thus we have now simply to consider what sort of religious sentiment it is that has sought an expression for itself in art since that schism, therefore since the middle of the sixteenth century, or the date of the Council of Trent.

But there is a third circumstance which must also be taken into account. The ever-increasing communion of life and culture between the leading States of Europe has given rise also to a community of literature, and this literature is the mightiest organ of the Spirit and the special fruit of the conquests of the last three hundred years. Since that date, next to the national Confessions of Faith, with the popular education that takes its character from these Confessions, the most distinctive feature of the epoch is the degree of influence which literature has exerted upon art. Many of the more recent productions of religious art owe their original suggestion far less to clerical influences than even in the later Middle Ages.

Lastly, too, we must not overlook that while art in general is an ever-abiding glory of humanity, any particular branch of art may be, more in one age than in another, the natural and appointed organ of the Spirit, and field whereon the religious sentiment may display its activity.

Bearing these four points in mind, we may perhaps thus characterize the results of a comparative survey.

Up to the date of the Reformation, *Architecture* was chiefly applied either to ecclesiastical edifices or else palaces, or in the free cities to the erection of town-halls and senate-houses. The artistic resources employed in the erection of so-called secular buildings have remained pretty nearly equal. As in the exclusively Roman Catholic countries of Spain and France, the Escurial and the Tuileries, the Caserta and Versailles have been constructed, so in Protestant countries, or in those belonging to mixed persuasions, but where a Protestant literature predominates, we have the castles of the German princes, the town-halls and Houses of Parliament of the Netherlands and England, the Capitol of Washington, and now the Palace of the Helvetic Diet at Berne. As in the former, the Vatican was designed for a museum, so in the

latter, have the various museums for art been erected in Germany. The public libraries of Rome and Paris are to be matched by those of London, Berlin, or Munich. The predominating idea of the buildings of this description which have been erected under the influence of the hierarchical Church is magnificence combined with exclusiveness; while among the nations and States not at all, or only slightly, under the influence of this Church, the idea governing their construction has been that of rendering what is public property accessible and useful to all. But the predominance of the idea of the general utility confessedly betokens a sense of God's presence, which is more or less distinct in proportion to the closeness with which its object is connected with the mind, and therefore with mental freedom.

Now this is the case in the highest degree with structures designed for education, such as school-houses, universities, &c., with those designed for the care of the sick, such as hospitals; and with prisons, in so far as they are made industrial and reformatory institutions rather than schools of crime. That the most numerous, finest, and best-arranged buildings of this description are to be found among the nations of Protestant or mixed creeds, and this, moreover, in proportion to the absence of the hierarchical element, no one really acquainted with the subject will deny or seriously dispute. What is peculiar to them has arisen precisely out of this very anxiety for the general weal. Who would attempt to draw the faintest comparison between the penitentiaries and gaols of Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, and those of Italy and Spain, whether in regard to art or to utility? In England the decayed mariners occupy the splendid halls, chambers, and courtyards of what was once a royal palace. In Berlin, after a heavy national calamity, the University was established by its kingly founder in one of the finest royal palaces.

Where does the new religious creed exhibit any de-

structive or repressive tendencies? On the contrary, is there a quarter where its quickening power is not increasingly visible?

Does not the reverse, however, seem to many demonstrable in regard to ecclesiastical architecture? The facts will scarcely bear out this impression. If we keep to the date we have adopted as the basis of comparison (namely, the Reformation, the buildings prior to which we take as common to both parties), we have on the one side churches reared for the most part by the Jesuits, on the other, the attempt which, whether more or less successful for the present, is certain of the future, to erect once more, after the lapse of a thousand years, a church adapted for the use of the Christian people; and to solve this problem after nearly two thousand years' interregnum in conscious harmony with human feeling for art and beauty. The limits of our present work do not allow of our enlarging further on this topic, but we would refer the reader who may be interested in it for fuller details to our work on the Christian Basilicas, and meanwhile entreat him to weigh the following considerations:—

A church which is not arranged with a view to the convenience of the congregation who are to use it for their devout meditations, is in itself scarcely to be called a *Christian* edifice. Thus it must be, though not exclusively, still essentially, a church which can be preached in,—not a mere ecclesiastical hall destitute of pulpit or seats, or with only some casual and provisional arrangement for the intelligible proclaiming of the Gospel or for the undisturbed devotions of the congregation.

Secondly, in its whole ground-plan, arrangement, and ornamentation, it must typify the exclusive worship of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. It must not be a temple dedicated to the Virgin, nor a basilica defaced by projecting chapels of the saints and the insertion of side altars. The true, genuine, uncorrupted basilicas of the first five centuries belong to the new religious conscious-

ness. The church of the Hierarchy has but spoilt them, while the Jesuits have driven all poetry out of them, and consciously and methodically adopted everything in the mediæval churches that was connected with the misconceptions and abuses of that age into the conceptions, by turns prosaic and theatrical, of the structures they have erected. Who can deny that there is something of this kind even in that most marvellous edifice of the last three centuries, the modern St. Peter's? Only let anyone compare its extravagant ground-plan with the antique ground-plan of the ancient Constantinian Basilica, on whose site it is built; nay, or even with Justinian's St. Sophia at Constantinople. But how completely all art rises and sinks together with the religious consciousness it embodies is most conspicuously displayed in its architectural proportions, which, with the exception of the cupola,—that exalted idea of Michael Angelo's, the towering genius of the period preceding the schism,—are confessedly so heavy that one might be tempted to call St. Peter's a petty architectural idea carried out on a colossal scale,—a dwarfish figure magnified to the dimensions of a giant.

On the other hand, no one certainly can deny the tastelessness of many of the recent Protestant churches of the Continent. But only let us enquire how they have come into existence, and we shall find that those which are the ugliest, the least adapted to their requirements, and which most repel us by their intrinsic falsity and shams, are almost without exception the offspring of a prince's fancy, or of the caprice and vanity of some favourite court architect. The popular taste has had no voice in their construction. Congregations, whenever they have had it in their power to think of anything beyond rearing for themselves a tabernacle in the wilderness, have always at least built with an adaptation of means to ends; and that alone suffices to secure the possibility of beauty. But we would especially ask our reader to compare the some two thousand Protestant churches which have sprung up

as though by the touch of magic during the last thirty years in England, without any governmental aid or superintendence, out of the heart and energies of the Christian people (outnumbering all that the whole Continent has built during the last two hundred years), and we shall see what fruits in this field of art also, the Evangelical religion has already borne, even in the climate least favourable to art. And it will bear far nobler fruits than it has yet done, whenever the people at large shall be able to raise themselves out of poverty and misery, and when all is not done for them from above. But it is essential that the masses should be able once more to rejoice in their own existence, and be allowed to manage their own affairs; on no other conditions can a blessing be looked for.

Of *Music*, the second art consisting in proportion, we need to say still less. The main fact lies patent before our eyes. To begin with church music in its stricter sense—that which is employed in public worship—since the congregation is in a peculiar sense the depositary of the religious consciousness in all that relates to the cultus, the essence of which consists in "edification;"—that is to say, the building up of the true temple of God by means of the individual worshipping souls who are its living stones;—we must lay it down as a first principle, that this religious consciousness, with the art to which it has given rise, must, more than any other consciousness, or any other art, rise and sink together with that congregation. When the Semitic was superseded by the Aryan form of the hymn, hymnody, in the shape of the *chorale*, took the place of psalmody. And the first instance in which it did so was in the Basilica of Milan, in the year 389, when the congregation shut up within it with their Bishop St. Ambrose refreshed themselves by singing spiritual songs. When afterwards the congregation retired into the background and no longer understood the words sung in divine service, all living hymnody ceased, and only came to life again

with the Reformation, which began with spiritual songs for the people. The most beautiful of the ancient hymns were translated and their melodies adapted. Many new ones, some of which were yet finer than the old ones while breathing the same spirit, were composed in uninterrupted succession, more especially in Germany, but in France also up to the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Next to the Bible, those simple yet sublime melodies have, in combination with the hymns, contributed more than any other single agency to nourish devotion and to guide the development of musical art. Both Handel and Sebastian Bach grew up as organists, that is to say, accompanists in the congregational *chorales* on the organ and directors and masters of choral music.

The *chorale* is the basis of lyrical music; and the pure lyrical choral song, without any instrumental accompaniment, is the highest flower of the *chorale*. The compositions of Josquin, which were so greatly beloved by Luther, were afterwards elaborated and simplified by Goudimel, who was burnt for his leanings to Protestantism; all whose music, together with the *motetts* of his great pupil Palestrina, who was also his successor at the Sistine Chapel, were based upon the *chorale*. This style of art began to decline soon after Palestrina. There are only a few classical compositions of this kind, such as the *Misereres* of Bai and Allegri, which can be named in the same day with those of that Rafaelle of the higher species of music. In Germany there lacked the living materials for the highest development of this style of art—namely, choirs formed out of the town schools with a few masters to lead them. But all that could be done without these, flourished with great vigour, and as of yore in Athens the lyric songs of Pindar and his predecessors gave birth to that marvel of poetic art—the Greek drama—so did the *chorale*, fertilized by the genius of Handel, with his successors, Bach, Mendelssohn, and others, give birth to the *Oratorio*, which is nothing else but a veiled spiritual drama

couched in music. And the oratorio, though born in Germany, was first produced on a scale that constituted it an historical event in England.

In the church of the hierarchy, the old Ambrosian congregational *chorale* died out; and when at the close of the last century an attempt to revive it was made in Roman Catholic Germany, the nation did indeed receive from Haydn and Mozart lovely popular melodies, but no *chorales.* In the churches of the hierarchy at the present day, either the congregation do not sing at all, or they sing popular airs entirely destitute of a religious character. The so-called classical church music is throughout dominated by the instrumental music; it is dramatic not lyric, and after the march has been for a considerable time its unacknowledged type, the dance has now come to be so; nay, in point of fact, the most God-forsaken operatic music has come to be the quarry from which musical themes are selected for the public worship of God!

That operatic music has not sunk to so low an ebb in Germany is partly owing to the independent genius of Mozart and Beethoven, partly to the higher tone of spiritual life in the whole nation, especially as displayed in its literature; but assuredly it is no thanks to the hierarchy and their church. The music of the Jesuits is as bad as their architecture, and, we must add, as the sculpture and painting in their churches. Michael Angelo and Raphael, with their compeers in their own age, were the last great masters of the art springing from a direct sense of the divine presence. So early as the latter half of the sixteenth century we have to search long before we discover a picture or statue really fit to place in a church; a Christ, or a Holy Virgin, an Angel or Apostle, whose lineaments bespeak any religious sentiment or awaken any such sentiment in the beholder. In statuary, and still more conspicuously in painting, the sway of the Jesuits is distinguished by the theatrical and sentimental character that pervades their hollow culture; nay, by the

most repulsive representations, now of bodily anguish, now of morbid transports and ecstasies.

When, forty years since, there arose in the great German masters, Overbeck, Cornelius, and Veit, a new and higher style of historical art, that once more began to direct itself towards the centre of all religious consciousness, a style which has since spread through the whole of Europe under diversified vestures, it was not this Jesuit art which historically formed their model, but the great masters who dated from before the division of the church. And how would this greatest uprising of modern painting have been possible but through the spiritual impulse given by German Protestant literature? It is the heroes of Protestant literature and not the Romish theologians who have kindled the sacred fire of the higher art in those men. It is also worthy of note, and no accidental circumstance, that all the works of Cornelius and all the more considerable ones of Overbeck and Veit in this domain are representations of purely Biblical, as distinguished from ecclesiastical subjects. And as Albert Dürer and Lucas Cranach followed in the tracks of the old masters, so did the younger Protestant artists, Schnorr and Kaulbach, walk in the footsteps of the new German school along with their genial comrade Lessing, who has struck out a path of his own. In their hands, the historical root-idea has worthily and successfully expanded itself from the scenes described in the Bible to events in the general history of the world, not unfaithful to the common religious consciousness, but, on the contrary, seeking to discern its embodiment more and more in God's universe and in actual human affairs, and thus to proclaim His presence in the vicissitudes of nations and the life of Humanity.

Thus, the result of our survey of the highly remarkable development of art that has taken place during the last three hundred years, taken on a broad historical scale, presents us with a similar contrast to that which we

found in the development of ecclesiastical and political institutions. While among the nations belonging to the old hierarchical Church, the free creative national art finds itself, even where it is undesignedly so, in contrast if not in contradiction to ecclesiastical art, nay, often to the very spirit of Christianity itself;—among Protestants, on the contrary, the development of art has welled up from the most hallowed depths of our nature, under the influence of faith and aspiration; and working from the centre outwards, now by thoughts, now by deeds, has diffused the sense of God's presence around in ever-widening circles.

This is still more conspicuously manifest in the highest of all the arts, that of *Poetry*.

During the constructive period of the Middle Ages, which only in Germany and England begins so early as the ninth century, while in Italy and elsewhere it does not commence until the latter half of the eleventh, we find two Epic poems of enduring historical importance. The first is the "*Heliand*," or Epos of the life of our Saviour, put together out of the narratives related in the Gospels. This dates from shortly after the time of Charlemagne. The second is our German poem of the "*Nibelungen Noth*," dating from the end of the eleventh century. The two taken together, are representative at once of the two stocks whence sprang the Teutonic tribes, and of the two opposite poles of their epic religious consciousness. The "*Heliand*" is of Saxon or Low German origin, and is our most ancient religious Epos; the "*Nibelungen Noth*" belongs to the Frankish or High German stock. The precursor of the "*Heliand*" was the translation of the Bible by Ulphilas;—the precursor of the "*Nibelungen*" the heathen traditions underlying those Scandinavian poems whose reduction into the "*Edda*" must be fixed at about the sixth or seventh century, so that the *Eddaic* must be considered as the more strictly proper form of those traditions. The

spiritual tones of the former of these two poems are re-echoed, pregnant with inspiration and constructive energy, from the very dawn of the Reformation, in the German "*Kirchenlied*," which gradually rises out of detached hymns into an Epos which is the most magnificent of its kind that the world can show. These multifarious hymns, all proceeding as they do from one and the same conception of God's kingdom on this earth, and His increasingly manifested presence therein, have,—as we have already remarked in speaking of their primary author, the Church —gradually grouped themselves undesignedly, yet not accidentally, into an epic structure. The subject of this Epos is the history of God—of the Father in the Son and in the Spirit—presented, not in the form of didactic instruction, nor yet in that of historical narrative, but glorifying His acts by a poetical embodiment in forms of immortal beauty. Hence this may be said to form the earliest religious Epos of the modern epoch; a complete whole in its totality, yet not finally closed; the work of many hundred holy singers, extending over three centuries, but yet entirely comprehended in the unity of the German national heart in its search after or its actual vision of God.

This Epos, the joint production of all ranks of society, belongs alike to all races speaking the German tongue. Its language, however, is that of Luther and his Bible, the dialect of Central Germany, or High German, which is most intelligible to the Saxon race.

The second Epos is secular in its character, and couched in a dramatic form; we mean *Shakespeare's Histories*. The Cantos into which this Epos is divided take their colour from the personal characters and fortunes of the successive monarchs of England, from John Lackland to Henry VIII.—from the king who forfeits his lands and honour by tamely succumbing to the yoke of Papal aggression, up to the king who, in concert with the noblest and best of his subjects, and spurred on by the national

aspirations and efforts, avenged and delivered his State and people by shaking off that yoke. If (alike contrary to their titles and design) we take the single divisions as independent dramas, they lack that solution which Shakespeare, equally with the great tragic poets of antiquity, never lost sight of. But if we look at these as Cantos of one national Epos they are faultless, and become perfectly intelligible. Their solution is contained in the close of the Epos. But the form that Epos assumes is the dramatic, which corresponded most closely to the sentiment of the world in that age.

Like Homer, Shakespeare was no philosopher in the scientific sense of the word; but his works, like those of Homer, contain a most elevated philosophy of the universe, because they combine with the most wonderful knowledge of the human heart, that full and direct consciousness of the eternal laws of the world's order which is so rare among the moderns.

The two next epical productions which meet us are again of Saxon origin and religious nature—Milton's "*Paradise Lost*" and Klopstock's "*Messias.*" Both, especially Milton's Epos, are true poetic creations; and neither of them has been equalled, still less surpassed, by any modern writer; lastly, both are replete with a pure religious consciousness, and an unclouded faith in the presence of God in man; both represent the ultimate destinies of moral beings as flowing from the eternal counsels of Redemption, and testifying to the power of man's ethical freedom within the limits assigned to him by the moral order of the world. Both, nevertheless, betray the fact that the age of the Epos is over, and that of the religious Epos most conspicuously so, but at the same time show that the Epos of the world's history contained in the Bible, above all in the life of Christ, is truth which stands far above the range of any poetical art.

The Romanic nations have given birth to no religious Epos whatever, and what they have produced in the way

of secular Epos,—Ariosto's "*Orlando Furioso*," Tasso's "*Gerusalemma Liberata*," and Voltaire's "*Henriade*," are rather to be called narrative or fictitious poems, than the embodiment of grand popular traditions; thus partaking more of the novel than the Epos. The French poem we have named really has no claims whatever to rank as an Epic; while its prosaic pompousness borders by turns on parody or comedy. Tasso's "*Gerusalemma*" might fairly claim to be reckoned an Epos, were it not that such a disproportionate amount of its charming story is taken up with the loves of its personages and all the complications thence arising.

The dominant form of the modern era, so far as that has yet unfolded itself, would undoubtedly seem to be the second or Lyrical stage of the Aryan development. It began, as we have seen, in the form of Sonnets and Canzonets with Dante and Petrarch; and we have already noticed all that is necessary for our purpose in speaking of the prophets of the hierarchical Church. The later lyric poets of those nations have no pretensions to any influence upon the general history of our race, up to that rare and noble-minded Italian genius of the present century—*Leopardi*, the bright point of whose religious consciousness consists in his firm hold of the moral free-will of man in the midst of his deadly struggle with the apparently hopeless destinies of his own life and of his nation. His faith in our power to trace through the course of history the moral order of the world had indeed become overclouded, owing to the forlorn condition of his native land, with her long centuries of anguish; yet, perhaps, still more by the comfortless philosophy of some of his Italian comrades who sought to draw him down from his lofty Platonism to their sceptical theory of the world. That all the stories which have been printed and circulated by a Jesuit respecting the last months and hours of this noble-hearted young man when in Naples, are not mere exaggerations but pure inventions and false-

hoods, has been proved by Gioberti in his "*Gesuita Moderno*," and repeated by Gladstone in his Essay on Leopardi in the "*Quarterly Review*." And as one of this great poet's oldest and most intimate friends, the author must add his testimony to the same effect on the authority of personal knowledge. Peace be with thy memory, thou lofty genius, who, with suffering body and amidst the overwhelming pressure of domestic and public calamity, hast soared above this dark earth! Eternal honour to thy name for the streams of Divine inspiration and love which thou hast poured out in thy lovely swan-songs on thy dreary pilgrimage! Thou hast lived faithful to thy "Sovereign Mistress" [Italy], and thou hast died faithful to thy genius, leaving an imperishable heritage of love and regret to thy friends!

Among the Teutonic nations, the palm of lyrical religious consciousness so far belongs as indisputably to the German heroes—*Schiller* and *Goethe*—as that of the dramatic does to the unrivalled *Shakespeare*. But of those Dioscuri we must still adjudge the crown to Goethe, though for a reader whose reflections have not already travelled beyond the domain of the understanding, and who has not yet risen above the demand for rhetoric, Schiller's influence will be the more considerable. The ethical element, too, comes out in greater purity with him. In Goethe there is presented a sense of the Divine agency in human affairs which far transcends all didactic or oratorical design, and is so comprehensive and at the same time so all-pervading that we must refer the reader for the illustrations of it to the author himself, and to the influence which he has exerted, and is increasingly exerting, on his own and succeeding generations.

Similar in kind to these two, though not standing so high in point of art, we may name among our older writers, *Klopstock* in his *Odes*, and *Herder* in his *Songs*, whether original compositions or simply re-castings of popular lays. Among the moderns the most conspicuous

names are those of *Rückert*, *Uhland*, and *Geibel*. All these are pervaded by an unmistakable German family likeness in their theory of the universe, which testifies to the spirituality and moral elevation of that sense of the Divine presence which is with justice ascribed to our nation, and has never forsaken her either in poetry or in life, nor will forsake her, so long as a German heart beats here or in the Western hemisphere, and is free to sing out of its own fulness.

That we are still living in the period where Lyric composition is the true prophet of poetic art is proved by the rarity of successful dramatic creations, although what there are bear witness to the future vocation of our people in this sphere. We are certainly justified in asserting as positively that since Shakespeare no tragedies have been written, combining the highest poetic inspiration and accordance with the rules of art, except by our own nation, as that the plays of Goethe and Schiller are no more to be compared with those of Shakespeare than with those of Æschylus and Sophocles.

In "*Faust*" we possess a tragedy, the outline of whose plot reveals a most exalted sense of the Divine agency in directing human destinies; but as we have already remarked in speaking of the antique Drama, the execution is for the most part sketchy, and no better calculated for the stage than the Oratorio of the Messiah is for the Opera-house, although both might perhaps be susceptible of effective dramatic representation. But the solution of "*Faust*" is fantastic, though not destitute of grand and genuinely tragic points. These latter are all that should be admitted into any representation of the Second Part, while even in the First Part, only that which bears directly upon the tragic unfolding of the human soul in Faust ought to be retained. As regards the plan alone, there is nothing even in Shakespeare comparable to this immortal poem, and nothing in the whole range of antique tragedy, except the Prometheus of Æschylus.

Nor can it be disputed that we also find in Goethe's "*Egmont*" and "*Götz von Berlichingen*" a correct apprehension of the religious demands of tragedy in reference to moral guilt, with the complications it brings about and their issues. But yet it is in such a manner that, as is the case with all imperfect works of art, we must ever keep in mind not only what is actually represented before us, but also that which we may or must imagine to take place in addition. Egmont's death is rendered endurable, not only by the fatal rashness that has brought his doom upon him, but also by the image of the national freedom sealed by his blood, that hovers behind the scaffold in the bright vision and in actual history. In "*Götz von Berlichingen*," we have the violence and lawlessness of the Middle Ages once more resuscitated for us under their noblest aspect, in order to vanish for ever, before the nobler future that is dawning upon the fatherland and mankind at large.

Of Schiller's works, "*Wilhelm Tell*" is an irreproachable, grand, and elevating drama, conceived rather in the epic than dramatic style; the "*Maid of Orleans*," on the other hand, is a genuine tragedy, in which the womanly nature and human love are raised on a far higher pedestal than even in the "*Antigone*." But the remaining tragedies of this master are less happy in their choice of subject, outline, or execution, notwithstanding the perhaps only too vivid consciousness possessed by this philosophic poet of the nature of tragic destiny.

But notwithstanding all these drawbacks, in any general survey of man's history, we cannot fail to discern in all these works the visible progress in his religious apprehension, or the consequently higher level from which our poetry starts. It is in the works of Shakespeare that we meet for the first time a real individuality of personal character exhibited in all the relations of life. The attempt, which in the hands of Euripides was a failure and instrument of corruption, is now presented to us in

its healthy divine form. The mask has fallen from the face of the hero as well as the actor. The sphere of religious apprehension is expanded in every direction, while at the same time the tragic element is not rendered less deep, but the reverse; the seriousness of life is not varnished over, but laid bare in all its intensity to the utmost limit allowable in tragedy. The modern Tragic Muse descends into our very hearts, penetrates the soul of our soul, and it is no longer amorous passion, but love, the heavenly child of God, that is now the central, although in the highest productions not the sole mainspring.

The Church of the hierarchy can produce no name worthy to rank beside these but that of *Calderon*, the canon of Seville, and the favourite author of the older romantic school. Now, though we most willingly acknowledge the poetic genius of this highly-gifted man, we are forced to deny him the possession of any healthy tragic religious sentiment. He knows nothing higher than the pains of martyrdom, nothing more inward than symbol. For him the marvels of legend supersede the miracles of reality.

Lastly, as regards French tragedy, we certainly cannot refuse to it the praise of great art in the construction and perfect rhetorical finish, nor, in most cases, of a highly noble tone of sentiment; but if we except the magnificent "*Athalie*" of Racine, we cannot, in any account of the historical manifestation of the religious consciousness through the drama, assign to the productions of this school (now, moreover, to be numbered with the things of the past), a place beside the grand creations of which we have been speaking. But we must rank side by side with Racine's "*Athalie*" the heroic operas of Gluck, especially his "*Alcestis*" and "*Iphigenia in Tauris*," the best part of which, however—namely, the music—is the fruit of German genius.

If we now turn to the modern writers of History, and attempt to determine in a few words the place which religious consciousness occupies in their ranks—so far as they exhibit any progress in those apprehensions, the historical development of which we wish to render visible—we must beforehand, notwithstanding the many proud assertions recently uttered respecting the superiority of the moderns in this field, decline to institute any comparison between them and the Greek and Roman historians, especially the two heroes of Greek historical literature. Our task is an infinitely higher one than theirs; but it may probably appear that we have much yet to learn in order to its worthy performance, even in the lower spheres, and nearly everything in the highest.

As regards a truthful and conscientious portraiture of contemporary times, or the recent past, we are undoubtedly able to point to proofs of that sense of religion which is manifested in the fact of arduous and thoughtful research, with a befitting presentation of its results. This excellence, which was first attained by the Hellenic Aryans and afterwards by some among the Romans, has not been lost by the Christian Aryans. But even this is, with few exceptions, directly the offspring of the Reformation, or at least of the more lofty flight which that mighty impulse has imparted to the European intellect. *Machiavelli* before, and *Guicciardini*, *Nardi*, and *Sarpi* since that great schism, are immortal heroes in the history of the religious consciousness; but one really cannot assert of them with truth that they stand on the side of the hierarchical Church. On the contrary, the first and third of those noble sons of the two greatest republics of Italy take up an attitude of direct hostility to that Church. Nay, the political despondency of Machiavelli, like the poetical despair of Leopardi, springs from the conviction of the irretrievable entanglement of the destinies of mankind wrought by the sins of the dominant clergy. Now, these writers have not been sur-

passed in later times by any other nation or any prophet of its history. The simplicity and calmness of their narration equal the impartiality of their investigations and their verdicts, while they have a masterly command over their materials, and write with the conciseness yet vividness of the Ancients.

Perhaps the writer who approaches nearest to them in the character and in the perfection of the historical style is the one who is also nearest to them in age—*Peter Hooft*—the great historian of the superhuman struggles and glorious deliverance of his fatherland. This writer, who is also the author of the best translation of *Tacitus*, has given an admirable account of the War of Independence waged by the Netherlands, up to the recall of the profligate Leicester, which he witnessed, and in which he took an honest and courageous part as a statesman. From the seventeenth century onwards, we have a continuous succession of great English and French historians. The former are all Protestants, the latter mostly Roman Catholics, but none of the latter wrote under the influence of the Papal Church, or were indebted to it for their culture. It was only towards the close of the last century, that German historical research began to rise to a similar literary level, in the hands of *Möser*, *Spittler*, and *Johannes Müller*. *Schiller's* two historical works may be cited as the first example of an artistic and dramatic arrangement of historical materials, combined with a lively style, and animated by popular sympathies. Their masterly delineation and exalted views of the world will secure a place to those works for ever in the national literature.

On the other hand, from very early times, the direct religious consciousness of the Germans took a loftier flight in their investigation into and reflection upon the monuments of Christian Church History. In the great work of the *Magdeburg Centuriatores*, written soon after the commencement of the Reformation, a light was for

the first time thrown upon the wilderness of mediæval legends, misconceptions, and falsifications, which Laurentius Valla had in the preceding century begun to investigate. In addition to the love of truth that characterizes the authors just named, Valla also displays a noble-minded breadth of intellect and sympathy with the more elevated phenomena of history. But we find all these excellences united to a degree not as yet surpassed up to our own day, in the ecclesiastical history written in Latin, by the elder *Basnage*, who had sought and found an asylum in the free country of Holland. His History of the Ancient Church up to the time of Gregory the Great not only unites the greatest research with the most extensive learning, but deserves to be called a classical work, for its delineation of and critical insight into the tangled web of Christian affairs and events. That which was still lacking, namely, an account of the internal course of development in Christianity, has been undertaken and carried out up to the fifteenth century, with the most profound religious apprehension, by *Neander*, one of the most pious and learned men of our own times. The history of the Christian, contradistinguished from the mere ecclesiastical, development may be said to begin, properly speaking, with his work. Fleury is not to be compared with either of these two writers.

Nor should we overlook the erudite disquisitions that have been written on the history of the Old Testament from *Herder* up to *Ewald*: historico-philosophic treatises which contrast equally with the mocking scepticism of Bayle and the sophistical special pleading by which Bossuet has earned for himself so high a renown on this field among French writers. The religious consciousness revealed by that course of development shines out much more clearly from the historical truth than from legends and theological formulas. It will be sufficient to refer our readers to the works of *Creuzer* and *Welcker*, *Schlosser* and *Niebuhr*, to show how true a sense of God's agency

in human affairs has been manifested among the priests of learning, especially those of Germany. This reveals itself not only in their conscientious investigation of our historical records concerning the faiths of the ancient heathen world, but also in their attempts to trace the footprints of God's Spirit in those faiths. Differing from each other as these authors do in their subject-matter, methods, and views, they and their disciples agree in the earnestness of their moral and religious sentiment.

It now only remains for us to say a few words on the progress which has been made in the systematic connection of scientific research with philosophic thought in the presentment of universal history. But we may compress what remarks we have to offer within the briefer compass, as we shall have to treat of this subject more at length in our "*Organon Reale.*"

The attempt to take a survey from the pinnacle of universal history of the vicissitudes of man's earthly destinies, and discern the moral order of the world revealed therein, began already with the prime movers of the Reformation. That work was in itself, both directly and indirectly, positively and negatively, a mighty stirring of the religious consciousness in man. Each of the propositions which we have placed at the head of this chapter expresses this in its own particular mode.

The presence of God within man came to be strenuously insisted on, and moreover discerned first in the rebukes of conscience, but no less also in the efficacy ascribed to faith in God's redeeming power ;—faith, therefore, in the moral order of the world taken in its highest, that is to say, most spiritual aspect. In the next place, the prison walls of observances and conventional traditions were thrown down, which had gradually transformed the history of the world and the history of God in it into a legend, and darkened or destroyed the belief in historical truth by the undue prominence assigned to the miraculous element. Lastly, the Bible was restored to

the people, and therewith a clue given to the understanding of that order as God's purpose of redemption. And thus the wall of partition that had separated the study of Scripture from the study of the great bygone world of antiquity fell away of itself, however much the theology of the day might strive to keep up the distinction between sacred and profane history, theological and secular philosophy, as specifically different things. We have already seen how wide a sweep was taken by this new movement over all the relations of the public and all the departments of the intellectual life of society at large. Not the least important effect of the reformation of religion was that which it exerted on what we may call *the literature of contemplation*; and which, taken in its purest sense, is often called philosophy. In attempting to mark the principal phases assumed by this literature, we shall confine ourselves to that which concerns itself with the contemplation of Mind in contradistinction to Nature; taking up first the facts belonging to the strictly theological domain, and then those relating to philosophy in general, distinguishing the realistic from the idealistic tendencies. The former class of facts will include the writings and utterances which base themselves upon faith, therefore predominantly upon the Bible; the second, the realistic and idealistic philosophers of the world's history.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PROPHETS OF THEOLOGY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

THE presence of God throughout the human world, not alone in the breast and conscience of the individual man, but also in a wise and merciful yet retributive guidance of human destinies, is with LUTHER a fundamental article of faith, the object of his innermost conviction. Two elements are united in Luther; he is at once a theologian resting his faith upon the Bible, and at the same time a German patriot, sharing to the intensest degree in the weal and woe of his nation, and hence in that of the entire human family, needing redemption and destined to obtain that redemption. Now, inasmuch as Luther refers everything back to God and His eternal counsel of redemption, confesses that this redemption is in the Son of God our Saviour, and firmly believes that it is to be made effectual to the human race through the Spirit of the Father and the Son working in the Church, we find in him all those three factors present, from whose mutual harmonious inter-action the Divine drama of the world's history has sprung, and from which a Divine life is poured down upon the earth in ever new and fresh streams.

In scaling these heights of contemplation, Luther was protected from the danger of losing himself, like Tauler and the author of the "*Theologia Germanica*," in the contemplative reveries of mysticism, by the strong and healthy sense of reality which he always possessed. At the same time, these spiritual guides of his preserved him from falling into the abysses opened out by the doctrines of election and reprobation when he dived into the depths

of the eternal decrees of God. Strongly, nay passionately, Augustinian and Anti-Pelagian as were his views, yet those two elements, that lay at the very root of his being, kept him from losing his way amidst the inferences that, to say the least of it, lay very close beside his Augustinian theories, and thus following Calvin into the bottomless gulf of assumptions, which, quite contrary to the intention of their author, fling the soul into a sullen despair or a deceptive self-security. In illustration of what we have said, we will present a few out of the many scattered utterances of the great Reformer, premising that his chief claim to a pre-eminent place in the history of religious consciousness consists quite as much in the great practical work that he undertook in faith, as in the inner spirit of his theories of the world or his general religious beliefs.

*The Poem and Drama of the Divine Order of the World.*[1]

"Joseph enacted a mighty cunning play with his brethren, for with a very friendly mien he brings them into despair, death and hell; then, when all is lost and they are thoroughly affrighted, he introduces the reconciliation into the play (as is wont to be done in the comedies too), dispels all the dangers, makes all things straight again. . . . From this we should mark that not only may we discover therein a similitude of the divine government, and see how God is wont to lead his saints; but also how it may minister to our consolation: That is to say, that when things are so utterly evil and corrupt that we see no hope left of remedy or help; then are we to know that now we have come to the crisis of the plot, that there will soon be a change, and things will be brought to a joyful issue. For it is with the divine poem as St. Paul wittily says in Eph. ii. v. 10: 'For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.' He is the poet, we are the verses and cantos that He composes. Wherefore may we not doubt, that our works and all our doings are acceptable in the sight of God for the sake of the singular power and grace of faith."

[1] See "*Auslegung der Genesis*," Kap. xliv. v. 17. Walch ii. 2411.

*God's Presence in the Creation and in Man.*

"God is not confined to any place, nor is He excluded from any. He is in all places, nay even in the meanest creatures, such as a leaf or a blade of grass, and yet He is nowhere. Nowhere? Understand me, nowhere palpably or within limits. But He is in all places, for He creates, moves and upholds all things. But how is He in all creatures? In His own essence? Or in virtue of His almighty power? He is on both wise in every creature; for, as we have said, He creates, moves, and upholds all things. The others, the creatures, act according to their properties, but God in His own presence and essence. . . . If God was in the womb of the virgin, in presence and essence, then so is He also in every creature, for the two are spoken of after the same fashion. Then said one of those present: Then is He in the devil? Yea, said Dr. Luther, in hell too, in His essence, as St. Paul testifies, 2 Thess. i. 9: 'Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power;' and Ps. cxxxix. v. 8: 'If I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there.'"[1]

*The Mysteries of the Moral Order of the World.*

"If one ask thee: Why does God decree that men's hearts should be hardened and they should fall into eternal perdition? Then ask thou: Why has not God spared His own Son, but given Him up for us all to the most shameful death upon the cross, which surely is a more certain sign of love towards us poor miserable men, than of wrath and hatred against us. . . . Wherefore we ought to discern, to lay to heart, and ever to remember that the goodness and mercy of the Father towards this wicked, godless world is immeasureably great. . . . Wherefore we ought not to fix our thoughts so continually on the fact how dreadfully human nature has been corrupted and blinded by Adam's fall. . . . but rather on this, that the loving God has willed that all should take place as it has done. Wherefore be thou content with His good pleasure.[2] It is our Lord God's use and wont to let His power and might be made perfect and strong in and through weakness. . . . He did not create man the first or early in creation, but He made the earth beforehand.

[1] "Tischreden," ed. Gerlach, xxiv. S. 47 fg.
[2] Ibid. S. 48.

Even so doth He at first deposit and conceal within the earth the shoot that is not intended to be a tree just yet." [1]

"One asked Dr. Martin whether the word 'harden' is to be understood literally, just as it stands, or after a figurative and metaphorical fashion? Then he answered and said: We must understand it literally but not actually, for God works and does nothing evil, but through His almighty power He works all things in all, and as He finds a man, so does He work in him. Thus with Pharaoh, who was evil of nature, it was not God's fault but his own that he always continued to be evil and to work evil. But he was hardened in this sense, that God did not hinder his impious undertaking by His Spirit and grace, but let him go on and take his own way. But why God did not hinder or prevent him, it is not meet for us to ask, for that little word 'why?' has led many souls away to their perdition. It is too high for us to explore." [2]

"When God is minded to punish or utterly destroy a kingdom, land or nation, He begins by taking away pious, God-fearing teachers and preachers. In the same way He takes away wise God-fearing rulers and counsellors, understanding and experienced warriors, and other honourable people. See Is. iii. 2. Then do the multitude grow secure and light of heart; they follow their own fancies, they no longer crave after pure godly doctrine, nay, they despise it and fall into blindness; they regard neither punishment, discipline, nor honour, but practise all manner of sin and vice, and this brings about a lawless, profligate, devilish state of things (as we now, alas! see and experience), that cannot long endure. Wherefore I fear lest the axe be already laid to the root of the tree, to the end that it may shortly be hewn down. May our gracious God remove it in His mercy, that we may not live to see and witness such a calamity." [3]

*Amaranth and Christianity.*

"The Amaranth grows in the month of August, and is rather a stalk than a flower, suffers itself to be easily plucked, and grows quickly and luxuriantly again. And then, when all the flowers are over, if this stalk be sprinkled with water and made damp, it turns green and beautiful again, so that we can weave chaplets thereof in the winter time. Hence is it named amaranth, because it neither fades nor withers. I know no better

[1] "Tischreden," S. 67. [2] Ibid. S. 58. [3] Ibid. S. 56.

similitude for the Church than this amaranth, the flower which we call 'Thousand-Beauties.' For although the Church washes her robes in the blood of the Lamb, as it is written in the first book of Moses and in the Revelation of St. John, and is coloured with red, yet is she more beautiful than any Estate or Assembly on earth. And she alone loves the Son of God, forasmuch as she is his loving bride, in whom alone He taketh pleasure and joy, on whom alone hangs His heart, while He rejects and feels nought but displeasure and loathing towards those who despise or corrupt the gospel. Moreover, the Church readily suffers itself to be broken off and plucked, i. e. she is gladly submissive and obedient to God under the cross; is patient, and grows again speedily and flourishes; that is to say, she draws great profit therefrom, inasmuch as she learns thereby to know God properly, to call upon Him, to confess true doctrine openly, and brings forth many lovely, noble virtues. Lastly, her substance and stock remains whole and cannot be uprooted, however man may rage and storm against certain of her branches, and tear them off. For just as amaranth or 'thousand-beauties' neither fades nor withers, so can man never succeed in extirpating and destroying the Church. What can be more marvellous than the amaranth? When it is sprinkled with water, and laid therein, it becomes fresh and green again just as though it arose from the dead. Thus we ought to harbour no doubt that the Church will come forth to life again, when she is awakened by God out of the grave, and live eternally to laud, praise, and glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His Son, our Saviour and Redeemer, together with the Holy Ghost. For albeit other empires, kingdoms, principalities, and dominions have their vicissitudes, and soon like the flowers fade away and fall; yet this kingdom which is rooted so deep and rises so high, cannot be uprooted or overthrown by any might or violence, but endures eternally."[1]

We must now turn to CALVIN. That the creation is the glory of God, and the redemption of man from sin is the eternal decree of God; these are the two root-ideas of the great French Reformer, from which is to be deduced, and by which we are to interpret, his whole consciousness respecting the Divine dealings. A few words

1 "Tischreden," S. 153.

taken from his immortal work, "*The Christian Institutes*," may serve to illustrate our thought. In the second chapter of the First Book, in giving the reasons for believing in God as our Creator and Redeemer, he commences his argument thus:—

"Although our mind cannot perceive God without worshipping Him in some sort, yet it will not be enough to acknowledge Him as the sole object that ought to be adored and invoked of all, unless we are at the same time persuaded that He is the Source of all Good, so that we seek for no good otherwise than in Him. My meaning is this, that we ought to adore Him, not only because He sustains this universe which He has created by His infinite power, governs it by His wisdom, preserves it by His goodness, while He more especially watches over the human race with righteousness and judgment, sustains it with mercy, protects it with His mighty defence, but because outside of Him no drop either of wisdom and light, or of righteousness or power, or integrity, uprightness and truth will be found that has not flowed out from Him and of which He is not the source; so that we may learn to expect and to pray for all things from Him, and to receive them with thankfulness as coming from Him. For this sense of the goodness of God is for us the true teacher of that piety from which religion takes its birth. Now what I call piety is a love united with reverence, produced in us by the recognition of His benefits. For from such recognition of God as the sole Good, follows the voluntary surrender of our whole soul. . . . It is all the more important to keep fast hold of this, because all without distinction adore God, but very few pay Him this inward reverence; for everywhere there is a great parade of outward observances, but the integrity of the heart is very rare."

This was written at Basle in 1536, in a work which is dedicated to Francis I. "The most Christian King and his own Prince."

In the propositions just quoted lies the deepest ground of the intuitiveness of our religious consciousness as a sense of the presence of God in the creation and in humanity; namely, the recognition and acknowledgment of God as the highest Good, and the Eternal Love; and

at the same time also the faith that these truths reveal and attest themselves not only in the creation, but also more especially in humanity. For what else could be the meaning of the language held by Calvin respecting that decree of God and the right mode of understanding it?

It is from this starting-point that Calvin arrives at his ideal of the kingdom of God, or the realization of the gracious will and eternal decree of God. This second thought he unfolds in his third Book. After explaining the Lord's Prayer as two tables, each containing twice three petitions, and teaching that in both we beg for that which it is God's will to do, he shows the concord of the two, and then proceeds to expound the first table, treating of the second petition—"Thy kingdom come"—in the following terms:—

"After it has thus been bidden to us to entreat God that He will put down and at last wholly destroy whatever dishonours and pollutes His holy name, this petition is here added, which says the same thing in other words. God's kingdom is there where men deny themselves and despise the world and a worldly life, cleaving only to God's righteousness, that they may strive to attain to a heavenly conversation. Hence no one can rightly put up this prayer who does not begin with himself, and make it his endeavour that he may be purged from all the stains which hinder the tranquil growth of the kingdom of God within him, and mar its purity. Now, since the Word of God is like a royal sceptre, we are by these words commanded to supplicate that God through His Holy Spirit will incline all hearts and minds to a willing obedience. The second object of the prayer is, that God will humble the wicked, restrain their crimes, and break their pride. Daily should we pray that God will gather to Himself Churches out of the ends of the earth, that He will go on to plant and multiply them; that He will enrich them with His gifts, that He will establish lawful order in them, but that He will on the contrary cast down the enemies of true piety, bring their counsels to nought, and confound their devices. From this it is abundantly clear that it is not in vain we are bidden to strive after a daily progress; for it never stands so with human doings that they need no further purification and sanctification to shine forth in perfect glory. The fulness of

this glory is reserved for the coming again of our Lord. Then, as St. Paul says, will 'God be all in all.'" [1]

Thus it is God's will that the reign of goodness should ever increase; but the growth of this kingdom depends on the honest strivings of those who are truly pious, to make progress themselves on personal piety, and on the belief that God will destroy evil, till at last all things shall be in harmony with the Divine will.

This passage alone suffices to supply us with two reflections bearing on our purpose. First, that the French Reformation too,—a spiritual movement which, having extended from Geneva to Holland and England, has proved itself the most fruitful of all those movements, and become the parent of political liberty over all the earth,—was originally founded on the belief in the actual agency of God in human affairs. For it seeks the unity and progress of the human development in the eternal counsels of God, as a counsel of eternal goodness. Secondly, that Calvin recognized redemption to be the inmost kernel of the decree of God, and made it and its realization dependent on free-will,—the voluntary offering up of Self.

Thus, if in Calvin's doctrine of *Election* we find some conditional expressions of St. Paul relating to the history of the Jewish kingdom of God pursued into their extremest logical consequences in such a manner as to make the reprobation of individuals form a part of the Divine decree, we can but say that in this instance Calvin, like Augustine, has made shipwreck in the attempt to connect his exegesis with his speculative philosophy; and that Calvin, more especially, has in so doing been unfaithful to his highest inspirations. It is as perfectly possible to assert this without thereby admitting one's self to be a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian as it is to denominate the so-called Athanasian Creed a declaration of intellectual bankruptcy, without being on that account in any sense an Arian. Pelagius and Arius ignored alto-

[1] "Christian Institutes," vol. iii. p. 20, § 42.

gether those facts which occasioned perplexity to Augustine and Athanasius. Further, it is possible, though not without incurring the certain risk of being termed an unbeliever by fanatics, and an unphilosophical mind by theologians, to maintain and express the view we have done without being compelled to admit that on this point the teachings of Paul need to be corrected by those of Christ (though indeed that they should be so corrected was always the Apostle's own wish and intention.) For we deny that St. Paul's language justifies those unconditional inferences, if it be taken in connexion with its context, which is indeed an essential requisite in all exposition. Were it otherwise, we should be forced to declare plainly that, judging his doctrine from the standing-point of universal history, Æschylus and Sophocles, with the Greeks who believed in their teachings, possessed a far higher apprehension of God's ways than the Apostle of Jesus Christ. Not one of their heroes perishes without having incurred his doom by his own moral guilt. But a decree of reprobation passed from all eternity is really, notwithstanding all ingenious devices and distinctions to disguise it, not essentially different from that blind Fate which hurls men down to inevitable ruin. In other words, it does not differ essentially from that doctrine which it was the highest glory of the Hellenic tragic poets to have risen above. But what says the Scripture? That God chose Moses, and that He blinded and hardened Pharaoh's heart, in order that he might plunge himself into perdition,[1] just as He chose Jacob and not Esau. Now does not this very comparison show us that we must understand the assertion respecting Pharaoh in the same sense as the other instances brought forward? Was not Pharaoh's heart hardened precisely in the same way that the poet represents Creon's to have been, when he refuses to be moved by the counsel of the nation, the warning of Tiresias, or the heroic declaration of Antigone? Why should we not

[1] Cf. Rom. ix. with Exod. vii., viii., and ix.

understand God's decree of reprobation as the persistence of the sinner in the resolve he has once uttered? An objector might indeed urge: "Perhaps Creon and Pharaoh might have come to a better mind upon reflection, if God had left them time to do so." Nevertheless, their condemnation is just, for the crime has been already committed which called down that judgment. It was an unlooked-for act of mercy on God's part that the temper of mind which issued in that crime had not already received its meet reward. God has elected Moses for the same reason that He elected Jacob—because they did not choke the divine seed implanted in their souls by self-seeking, but cherished it as a divine pledge, and lived a life of faith in the Spirit.

But we do not hesitate to say that Christ has expressed that thought much more clearly and nobly and irrespectively of all controversy with the Jewish cavillers, than His Apostle has done. We feel ourselves lifted into a higher region when we read His words to Nicodemus in the third chapter of St. John, or that discourse in the sixth chapter, where, under the image of eating His body, He enforces the doctrine of the new birth and the assimilation of the eternal divine will, which is a renunciation of the selfish free-will, and by that very fact constitutes the true freedom. These passages were the asylum in which Luther, by the help of Tauler and the "*Theologia Germanica*," took refuge from the extreme consequences of a doctrine which he, no less than Calvin, accepted. Thus we certainly agree with Schleiermacher when, in his acute Essay on the doctrine of Election,[1] he attributes that doctrine to Luther also, and says, in conclusion: "If God have not foreseen all things, then He cannot have foreseen anything."

But we do not find in that Essay (judging it by the standards of the United Evangelical Prussian Church, which is the ground Schleiermacher professed to take

[1] *Werke*, ed. 1819. "*Theologie*," A. ii. s. 393-484.

up) an adequate recognition of that other line of thought which in Luther's mind ran parallel to his doctrine of election. Nay, we are fain to confess that we also fail to find there an adequate recognition of the unambiguous verdict pronounced by the conscience of mankind. None of the more important Reformed Churches have adopted Calvin's doctrine of eternal reprobation into their Confessions of Faith as an essential part of the doctrine of election; while the German Churches, together with their most eminent representative thinkers, have most distinctly repudiated it. The bugbear of Pelagianism may be held up like a Gorgon's head to shield us from the rationalistic self-righteousness preached by the Jesuits; but we ought to refrain from employing any such unworthy stratagem in a grave philosophic discussion carried on under a sense of responsibility to God and the cause of Christianity, and with a due appreciation of the present condition of exegesis and religious philosophy.

After the death of Luther and Calvin, the Protestant world, and more especially the Lutheran portion of it, fell under the sway of scholastic dogmatists, who, even after the lessons taught by the experience of two hundred years, failed to perceive that Lutheranism was a system which had torn Germany to pieces, and which, under their hands, had become a lifeless petrifaction in a portion of the unhappy fatherland of the Reformation, while in Scandinavia, the ecclesiastical domination of the princes and the degenerate state of the laity had led to similar results. It had escaped these theologians that all the Christian life which was yet giving any public tokens of its existence was to be found within the pale of the Calvinistic communion or in the little Lutheran body of the Moravians, who had accomplished a peaceful union with the Calvinistic or Reformed Church.[1] Meanwhile

[1] In Germany the Churches of the Calvinistic Communion are termed "Reformed," in contradistinction to the Lutheran Churches; but as this title would give rise to misconception in England, where we apply the term

these ultra-Lutheran "watchmen of Zion" kept a most jealous eye upon all the deeper thinkers and more spiritually-minded Christians, who, like Johann Christian Arndt (1580), and, in later times, Spener and Johann Gottfried Arnold, endeavoured, despite all the arts of persecution and calumny, to infuse the divine breath of spiritual religion into this formalistic Lutheranism with its intolerable clerical tyranny, and to revivify the formulas of scholastic theology with the spirit of the Gospel. In the midst of this dreadful period (which has not as yet received its due meed of reprobation) falls the tragedy of one of the deepest minds in the world's history, and one of the most pious hearts in Christendom. Jacob Böhme, the shoemaker of Görlitz (born in 1575, died 1624), was a mystic, but at the same time a prophet for his own and future times, of the Divine Spirit in Humanity. In these qualities, singly and combined, the theosophist of Görlitz far outshines all the other mystics before and after him. In his conceptions of the world's order, he is far in advance of the spiritual mystics of the fourteenth century—Eccard, Tauler and their school—for he, unlike them, had witnessed the formation of churches which based themselves upon the inward disposition of the heart, and upon faith in the one sole Redeemer. It was only during the last five years of his life (1619–1624), that his writings flowed from his pen (his "*Aurora*" only had been composed somewhat earlier), but for many years, the worthy shoemaker, who stood in high esteem among his fellow-citizens, had been endeavouring to discern the interpretation of the flashes of inspiration that came to him respecting God and the universe, through the study of the Bible and of certain authors, one of whom unfortunately was Theophrastus Paracelsus, regarded in that age as a high authority. Still Holy Scripture

"Reformed" indiscriminately to all Protestant Communions, I always translate the German "*Reformirte Gemeinden*" by the term "Calvinistic Churches."—Tr.

was all in all to Böhme, while the Person and work of Christ constituted its central point, and the Spirit of Christ was its interpreter. Thus the date of his writings coincides with the first years of that desolating Thirty Years' War against the Gospel which had just burst upon his then flourishing native land, while at the same date the spirit of the narrowest and most relentless Lutheran bigotry had incarnated itself in the person of the chief pastor of his city, Gregorovius Richter, who, with his associates, condemned the humble Christian artisan to banishment. For all these rulers in Zion had, in the exercise of their official authority, excommunicated from the pulpit, and relentlessly cast out from human society, the man whom they could neither confute by argument nor move from his Christian calmness of temper.[1] In the midst of all these afflictions, Böhme never lost his faith in the progress of God's kingdom upon earth, and the ultimate triumph of the God of eternal love over the Devil and Antichrist. In his view, both these evil principles are identical with the selfish or egotistic principle which desires to make itself the master of the world; and their organs are all those authorities, secular and spiritual, which usurp the place of God; in other words, usurp an arbitrary power superior to the laws, in order to persecute, after their own will, the children of God and to repress the workings of God's Spirit. His confession of this faith for life and death we may find in that marvellously prophetic prayer with which he concludes the tenth chapter of his treatise "*On Election.*" This book, which was written in the year before his death, is one of the clearest and most intelligible of his writings, and that which he himself seems to have designated as his principal work.

*The Sighs, the Wish, and Prophecy of the Author.*

"O profound mercy of God, awake once more in us thy poor, perplexed, blind children, and overthrow the throne of Anti-

[1] For a picture of his times, see "Christian Singers of Germany," p. 147.

christ and the Devil, which he has reared upon hypocrisy, and let us behold once more thy countenance. O God! the time of thy visitation is indeed here, but who is there that discerns thy outstretched arm by reason of the boastful vanity of Antichrist, in the kingdom which he has made so strong for himself? Do Thou, O Lord, destroy him and cast down his power, that thy child Jesus may be made manifest to all tongues and peoples, and that we may be delivered from the dominion, arrogance, and avarice of Antichrist. Hallelujah! From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, does the Lord send forth the lightnings of His power and might, and who shall withstand Him? Hallelujah! Thine eye of love pierceth into every corner of the earth, and thy truth endureth for ever and ever. Hallelujah! We are delivered from the yoke of the spoiler, and his power none shall ever build up again, for the Lord hath decreed it by His wonderful works! Hallelujah!"

Böhme was enabled to rise above the doctrine of God's eternal decree of reprobation, because (following in the footsteps of Tauler and the author of the "*Theologia Germanica*"), he penetrated deeper than Luther and Calvin had done into the distinction between the Eternal and the Temporal, nor did he regard God as something foreign, external, subject to the conditions of Time, and separated by an impassable chasm from the human spirit.

A fellow-feeling for universal humanity had thoroughly saturated and strongly coloured his theosophic speculation, his exegesis, and his applications of Semitic modes of speech. He believed that the Eternal Word, who speaks directly in the human heart, showed His presence likewise in those enlightened heathens who strove to attain holiness of life and a knowledge of the Deity. According to him, the heathens had a perception of God, because they had brought with them into the natural life into which they had sunk, a powerful faith, and like the Jews, they were to become through the sacrifices which they offered in token of the surrender of their own self-will, partakers in the Spirit of the promised Redeemer who was to come. Any deliverance from present evils, Böhme believes can

proceed from nothing save a truly Christian self-devoted life, which should drive out the Devil and Antichrist, and should be combined with that true spiritual enlightenment which is destined one day to put an end to the continual wrangling of the theologians about the letter. This is his solution for the Babel-like confusion of language, through which the unspiritual letter has come to get the upper hand and given birth to a new Papal and Judaic tyranny.

For illustrations of these statements we would more especially refer our readers to those of his writings which treat exclusively of spiritual topics and are not essentially defaced and obscured by the mystic and fanciful terminology of Paracelsus and of a necessarily unreal physical science. Among these I reckon more particularly (besides his "*Treatise on Election*"), his essays "*On the New Birth*,"[1] and "*The Testaments of Christ*,"[2] also the "*Dialogue between an Enlightened and an Unenlightened Soul*,"[3] the "*Essay on the Lord's Prayer*," and lastly his "*Theosophic Epistle*."[4] Here we must content ourselves with a few extracts which immediately bear on the subject under consideration, and seem best calculated to mark out the course of this rare luminary in the religious firmament of our Humanity, referring our readers, for a fuller exposition of our author's views, to Hamberger's excellent compilation entitled "*The Doctrine of the German Philosopher, Jacob Böhme, presented in a systematic Abstract of his Writings*."[5]

*Time and Eternity are One.*

"He to whom Time is as Eternity, and Eternity as Time, he is freed from all strife."

These words are not to be found in his published

[1] See Werke, s. 1705–1736.
[2] Ibid. s. 2609–2712.
[3] Ibid. s. 3530–3546.
[4] Ibid. s. 3709–3927.
[5] "*Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen Jacob Böhme, in einem systematischen Auszuge*." 1844.

writings, but they were lines which he was in the habit of writing in the albums of his friends.[1]

*On Election.*

"When Reason hears talk of what God is according to His essence and will, she imagineth God to herself as something far off and strange, dwelling outside the region of this universe, high above the stars, and only through the medium of His Spirit ruling with an omnipresent energy in the space occupied by this universe; but that His Majesty in the Trinity, where God is peculiarly manifest, abideth in Heaven, beyond space and this universe. And hence Reason falleth into a delusion natural to the creature, as though God were somewhat foreign, and as though He had before all time held counsel with Himself by His wisdom in His Threefold Essence, concerning the creation of the creatures and of this universe, and purposed what He would make and what should be the end of all things; and had then created them according to a plan of His own, in which He has assigned to each thing its proper place and order. Out of which has sprung that delusion which we dispute, touching His decree concerning mankind; to wit, that God has of His set purpose elected a portion of mankind to share His holy joys in His kingdom of heaven, and elected the remaining portion to eternal damnation; in whom He would show forth His wrath, as He doth, on the contrary, His mercy in those others, His Elect. And that He hath thus of His own set purpose made a difference in order to show forth His power in wrath and in love. And hence all things must of necessity fall out as they do, and that portion of mankind who are to be the subjects of His wrath are so blinded and hardened that there remaineth for them no possibility of God's favour, while on the contrary, for those others there is no possibility of their damnation. Now albeit, Holy Scripture doth say almost the very same words, and also the carnal reason of the creature, which doth not understand what God is, agreeth thereunto, yet doth Scripture also in many more places expressly assert the contrary—namely, that God willeth not evil, nor hath it entered into His purpose to create the same. Now,

[1] See the account of Böhme in the Appendix to his works called "*Historischer Bericht*," s. 15. Cf. s. 29.

in order to reconcile these conflicting texts and to establish their true interpretation, we will give the Christian impartial reader, and the seekers after, and lovers of reality and truth, a brief hint for their meditation concerning those contradictory statements, how they are to be understood in their deepest meaning."[1]

*On the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart.*

"We must by no means imagine that any hardening of a man's heart from without can form part of God's purpose, so long as His name is God. On the contrary, the source and cause of this hardening resides in a man's own self; but it may so far be said that the decree of God's justice is the source and occasion of the hardening, inasmuch as it is His sentence of wrath wherewith He overtaketh whom He will. For the whole creature of man [the mind of the natural man], so long as he is under God's wrath, consists in this very choosing to be hardened, for its whole desires are set upon vanity, and that doth harden it. . . . The time of Pharaoh was a *time of set purpose*, forasmuch as all things are comprehended in God's set purpose, time, measure, and weight."[2]

"In the Acts xiii. 48 we read: 'And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.' This is a stumbling-block to human reason, which doth not understand it. When has God's foresight begun? Dost thou answer: From the beginning, before the creature? Yea, I say so too, but not from eternity in the creature, for as yet, the creature was not there. So in Acts ii. 47, the same thing is said more clearly, where we read: 'The Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved.' Not such as had been saved from eternity, but such as were going to be saved, is what our text says—those who are being saved in consequence of their eternal election in Christ Jesus, these it is whom He added daily to the Church.[3] Like as the sun has but one single will, which is that he giveth out himself, and pervadeth and gloweth in all the impulses of every object, giving to all things their life and energy, and imparting unto them his very self withal, so also is God the only Good beside Nature and the Creature, and He neither can nor will impart aught but God, or Good."

[1] Preface to the Treatise on Election. See *Werke*, s. 2406.
[2] Ibid. kap. x. s. 2558 fg. [3] Ibid. kap. x. s. 2582 fg.

*Antichrist and Babel. Regeneration.*

"What is Antichrist in Man? Christ says: 'If any man come to Me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.'[1] So again: 'Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'[2] Compare with this: 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.'[3] Such expressions do not mean that a man ought to forsake his wife and child, calling and station, and flee into the wilderness, but to forsake that which is Antichrist or contrary to Christ, such as 'mine' or 'thine,' or self-seeking. He who desireth to attain to the vision and perception of divine things in his own soul, must slay Antichrist within himself and depart from all self-will, nay from all that is of the creature, and become in the depth of his own spirit the poorest of creatures, insomuch that he hath nothing whatever of his own left, let him be in what station of life he may. Yea, although he were a king, yet shall his spirit forsake all self-appropriation, and reckon himself to be in his station, notwithstanding all his honours and temporal goods, nothing more than God's servant, set there in order to serve God and his brethren, and that all which he hath, he possesseth not by any right of nature as though it were his own, but as though it belonged to his brethren and members, over whom God hath placed him to be an overseer and minister that he may thereby serve his Lord, who will demand a reckoning of him. . . . When he thus acts, then will his self-will, which is Antichrist, be led captive and destroyed in the death of Christ, and then will his soul straightway become like a new-born simple child, which has lost its natural understanding belonging unto its self-hood, and beginneth to supplicate before God, like a babe unto its mother, who taketh what she giveth unto him. And this it is which Christ meant when he said: 'Ye must be converted and become as little children.'"

[1] Luke xiv. 26. [2] Matt. xviii. 3. [3] John iii. 3.

*God and the Rulers upon Earth.*

"Lordship doth indeed take its rise in the realm of nature, but it may also very rightly have a place in God's kingdom, so long as the lord exercises his authority as a service in the kingdom of nature and not as though he were an independent deity, who doeth what he will."[1]

"A prince or lord has no authority to shed blood except in obedience to the law of God, and if he so doth he is by God's law adjudged worthy of death. Kings and princes are simply officers set to uphold the ordinances of God's laws, and have no right to go beyond them without a divine command.[2] . . . The oppressions of spiritual and secular lords are not founded on the law of nature, but of hell, where each being plagues, terrifies, tortures, and torments every other."[3]

"A godless prince or nobleman may indeed of right remain in his office, but he serveth therein, not the love, but the wrath, of God."[4]

"Lucifer also was a sovereign and king in God's service. But when he turned his office to his own behoof he was *cast out*. Not but that he remained still a prince in his office, but it was in God's *wrath*, not in His *love*, that he was henceforth destined to serve Him."[5]

*In the Last Days God shall Reign upon the Earth.*

"There is still a wondrous age to come, when all things shall be changed. Many great mountains and hills shall then be cast down, and a fountain shall spring forth out of Zion, at which the poor and needy shall drink and be refreshed. Then shall the nations be led forth to pasture with a shepherd's staff, and the shepherd shall rejoice with his flock in the great mercies of God. Silver and gold shall then be as common to all as in the days of Solomon; and God's wisdom will govern the whole earth."[6]

*The Latter Days shall be full of Peace, Unity, and Knowledge.*

"When the angel shall one day call the Turks to return again, they shall come in the lowly spirit of the lost son return-

[1] Myst. xxxix. 32. [2] Ibid. xxxiii. 16. [3] Dreifaches Leben xv. 8.
[4] Myst. lxvi. 25. [5] Ibid. 24. [6] Vierz. Frag. xxxix. 5, 6.

ing to his father, and then shall there be great rejoicing among Christ and his angels, because the dead are brought to life again and the lost are found. And although the elder brother who hath abode in the letter, is angry because of the difference of form, yet that shall not matter to them, they shall rejoice with their father." [1]

"The Jews have not been torn up by the root, but they must needs be blinded that their light may shine upon the heathen, until the time when these also shall become blind in the light of Abraham, as indeed is truly the case now. And then shall the light of Abraham arise again out of its own root, and lighten all the Gentiles. Then shall Japhet dwell in the tents of Shem, and Israel shall be brought to the fount of mercy that is opened to all peoples." [2]

"The power of the Highest has given to every object, to each according to its own nature, an indwelling perfection, and this is as yet latent in all things, but may in truth be laid open again by means of understanding and art, so that this primal virtue may overcome the evil that hath been kindled since. If God hath given us power to become His children, and to overcome this world, why not also to overcome the curse pronounced upon this earth? Let no one deem that to be impossible; nothing is needed for it but godly understanding and knowledge, and this shall blossom in the season of the lilies, but not indeed in Babylon." [3]

"Man does possess the power in so far as he works in obedience to God as His instrument, to bring the earth, which is now under the curse, under the blessing, and out of the anguish of death to create a kingdom of the highest joy. Yet he cannot do this of himself, but his will doth co-operate with the Divine intelligence to this end, bringing together that which belongeth together, and so reducing all things to unity." [4]

Had we space to enter into a more detailed account of the prophetic glimpses vouchsafed to man of God's presence in History, we ought to add to these passages from the great theosophist, a few extracts from the writings of Gottfried Arnold, Œtinger, and Bengel, in order to present

[1] Myst. xl. 90, 91.
[2] Ibid. xxxvii. 60.
[3] Signat. xiii. 59–61.
[4] Ibid. xi. 85.

an adequate view of the succession of ideas in this school of thinkers during the course of the eighteenth century. But this intellectual movement falls into insignificance compared to those which preceded and followed it. We have already, in our first Book, had occasion to refer to the profound hymn in which Arnold's poetry takes its loftiest flight:—

"How blest to all Thy followers, Lord, the road,"[1]

as presenting a sublime practical conception of the reconciliation of the apparent contradictions in the divine leadings of the individual soul, and of the race; nay, as furnishing too, a solution of those complications which would seem to us to be retrograde steps in the history of the world.

And in regard to this domain of thought also, it is very apparent that the miseries of the period in the midst of which Jacob Böhme was removed, had to a striking extent overclouded men's belief in the reality of God's agency in the present. What results there still remained to the German peoples of the mighty outburst of life that had taken place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was gradually being drained away with the life-blood of the nation in that most horrible of all the religious wars that history records—the Thirty Years' War. When, after the peace of 1648, Germany, which had been rent asunder, devastated, trampled underfoot by Spain, France, and Austria, once more awoke to life, it was a barbarized, well-nigh desperate generation that had grown up. Moreover, the population consisted mainly of little scattered handfuls of people, who with difficulty reared themselves up amidst the universal wreck, with views inevitably narrowed by the necessity of concentrating their minds upon the supply of their daily wants. Still they were not destitute of a hard-won erudition, but theology continually degenerated more and more into mere scholastic dogma-

[1] See "*Lyra Germanica*," vol. i. p. 175.

tism. Philology took refuge in free Holland, where Bayle too was allowed to carry on his critical researches, and the great Spinoza to utter his thoughts openly, despite of Synagogue and Synod. In the rest of Europe, under the influence of the French tongue and the French political and literary ascendancy, a conventional philosophy began to spring up, which at first presented itself timorously under a Semitic garb, and using the formulas of that hierarchy of which Bossuet was the prophet and Louis XIV. the idol. No one dared boldly to come out with free speculations on the actual conditions of the present. Rabelais had ventured to satirise them, but Descartes shrank back appalled by the terrors of excommunication and imprisonment, when, in unfolding his philosophical system of thought, he approached too near their verge. Thus it was no wonder that, even from the theological side, no prophetic glance was cast upon social realities.

It belongs to another province of our enquiry to discuss that gigantic movement which after the Seven Years' War arose on the domain of mental activity, alike in the fields of critical, historical, and philosophical research, and no less on that of ethical speculation carried on with closer or more remote reference to the Bible; and which continually tended more and more to assume the shape of a European School of thought. But very soon after the commencement of the nineteenth century, the divergent tendencies of the Rationalistic and Romantic Schools began to display themselves with their respective one-sidedness; while, at a subsequent period, the compact between mysticism and hierarchism proceeded from the bosom of the Romantic School. The two great Masters of the Ideal Philosophy of Mind did indeed incidentally, from the speculative side, touch upon the problem lying before us, but without possessing the ability to satisfy the requirements of a positive theology even in the department of actual scholarship.

It was in such a horizon that Schleiermacher appeared.

Born in 1787, he became a teacher of theology in 1804, and published the first edition of his great work "*On Dogmatic Theology*" ("*Die Christliche Glaubenslehre*"), in 1822. We find him in possession of a scientific philosophic system, and a critical acquaintance with philologic and dogmatic philosophy. It was not, however, in the contemplation of universal history, which always remained a foreign region to him, that he found the connecting link and reconciliation between the two, but in the religious experiences of the individual soul. In the pious atmosphere of the Moravian community, in which he had been educated, his mind had already opened to the perception of the directness of man's apprehension of God, under the form of man's innate sense of dependence. Now since in Christ is truth, and through His Spirit a personal relationship between God and the individual believer subsists and is sustained, no system of doctrine can, in our author's view, be a truly Christian one which is not in harmony with the Gospel, and with that intuitive apprehension of God, and whose essential agreement therewith cannot be demonstrated. But then Schleiermacher proceeds to show that such a harmony does really subsist in the case of the Confessions of Faith put forth by the various Protestant Communions, if we look to the points wherein they all agree, and not to those wherein they differ from each other. These latter, however, are precisely points with respect to which Scripture and reason afford us no certain teaching, and which form no essential part of our intuitive religious consciousness.

Now, while the other masters of philosophy restricted their walks within the sterile fields of speculation or lost themselves in the trackless wilds of mythology and allegory, Schleiermacher set himself to work upon the exposition of the Gospels and other books of the New Testament, and laid down afresh the argumentative bases of a Christian and Scriptural theology, by applying his dialectic method to several of the most knotty points of

philological and historical criticism which had been the perplexity of his theological predecessors. But it is in his "*Dogmatic Theology*" that we must seek the central point of his views respecting the relation of our religious consciousness to historical fact. On this point we can easily understand that it would be impossible for Schleiermacher to admire that coarse, equally unhistorical and unphilosophical fabric of thought in which divines had interwoven detached texts taken from the prophecies, or other typical Jewish allusions occurring in the Gospels and Epistles, into the very texture of the intellectual system of Christianity. But, on the other hand, we cannot but regret that instead of accepting the Judaic element in its typical character and relative significance, as one constituent element in universal history, and thus rendering it susceptible of philosophical treatment, Schleiermacher, as though out of impatience, cuts off Christ and the essentials of His doctrine from the Old Testament altogether. In so doing, he did not reflect that without this root, neither Christ nor Christian doctrine could assume their proper place in the development of the world's history. The root-idea of the Ancient Covenant — that of the Eternal, or Jehovah—runs through all that Jesus terms "the Scriptures." So, too, the congregational life of the Church demands the belief in such a connection between the Old and New Testament; and requires, moreover, that its members should have a direct, and not a merely second-hand acquaintance with the former; for Jesus expressly refers them to those Scriptures. Hence our verdict on one of the principal passages in Schleiermacher's Introduction cannot be doubtful, where he says:[1]—

"The promise made to Abraham, in so far as it did receive a fulfilment in Christ, is yet only represented as containing a reference to Christ in the counsels of the Divine Mind alone, not in any pious apprehensions possessed by Abraham and his posterity."

[1] See "*Glaubenslehre.*" Einleitung, §§ 12, 3.

Now in this passage, Schleiermacher has certainly had that stupendous saying of Jesus present to his mind, reported to us by St. John: "Abraham desired to see my day, and he saw it and was glad." No doubt these words are to be taken in a spiritual sense, and only so become intelligible. For it was in the Spirit that Abraham beheld the future of God's kingdom; and, consequently, the perfect personal Founder of that kingdom, and the development of His humanity—of His "Body"—among all nations of mankind. Now Schleiermacher did quite right to refrain from hanging upon this a chain of dogmatic propositions. But the assumption of an essential inward connection, consequently of an actual historical development is, nevertheless, involved in the admission that we cannot but ascribe to Abraham an inward apprehension of God's counsels of redemption. And that he had such an apprehension, the philosophy of the world's history would compel us to assume, even though these words of Jesus had not been transmitted to us.

Again (in paragraph 14, note to 3) our author proceeds to say, in reference to *prophetic inspiration*:—

"As regards the Old Testament, the Prophecies cannot be understood alone, apart from the Law and the historical books; while this whole, taken together, is so thoroughly theocratic that we are able to distinguish in it two poles, one of which attracts and the other repels the New Testament. Even supposing, however, that apart from the New Testament, it were possible to bring any one to a belief in the inspiration of the prophets (which, moreover, there would be no other means of effecting but by the prophet's own testimony that God's word had come to him), yet no faith in Christ as the 'end of the Law for righteousness' could be developed out of such a belief. On the contrary, we shall come nearer to expressing the whole truth if we say that we believe in the inspiration of the prophets solely on the ground of the use which Christ and the Apostles make of their prophecies."

Now this we must dispute altogether. We only do,

properly speaking, believe in the inspiration of the prophets, when we recognize that it really existed; and, that it did so, we hold to be a simple historical fact.

Hence, in respect to the development of man's religious consciousness, Schleiermacher holds the personality of Christ to be an absolutely original[1] phenomenon (in which we agree with him so far as the infinite factor is operative), but regards the epoch anterior to this revelation of Christ, as containing, on the Jewish side, two periods, viz. the Abrahamic and the Mosaic; parallel with which Jewish revelation, he places the spiritual development of the heathens who were enlightened by God's Spirit.[2]

Evil, or the sin that is in the world, Schleiermacher conceives to be a necessary condition of the good. On this point he says:[3]—

"There is in the last resort no course open to us, but either on the one hand to assume the divine co-operation in all that happens alike, or on the other to maintain that evil is not in and for itself ordained of God at all, but is so only as a necessary condition of the good, and subsidiary to that."

As the result of his profound analysis of the idea of redemption, Schleiermacher, at the close of his work, is brought to the assertion of two great theses:[4]—

"*The Divine Wisdom is the First Principle which ordered this world, and designed it to be the recipient of that Divine Self-impartation which is effected in the Redemption.*"

"*The Divine Wisdom is the cause in virtue of which that world, which is the theatre of Redemption, is also the absolute revelation of the highest Being, and consequently good.*"

In the commentary on these propositions he says:—

"The immediate consequence of our thus regarding the Divine Love also under the aspect of Wisdom, is that we cannot possibly consider the totality of finite existence in its relation to

[1] "*Ursprünglich*," un-derived—having no causal antecedents.—Tr.
[2] See § 156, cf. § 12, 2. [3] See § 48, 2. [4] See § 168, 169.

our religious consciousness, except—and this connotation is always present to our minds when we use the expression 'world' —as the absolutely self-consistent Divine Work of Art. For, as even in the domain of man, the correct and perfect outline of the idea of a work of art is the spontaneous product of wisdom, so that even the actual transactions can only be held to have their origin in wisdom in so far as they, both in their relative position in the whole life, and also in themselves, are capable of being regarded at once as works of art in themselves, and as parts of such a work of art, while the most perfect man would be one whose collective projects for works and deeds would form a complete Whole of communicated self-representation; so is the Divine Wisdom also nothing else than the Divine Essence conceived in this absolute, not complex, but simple and originally complete, self-representation and self-impartation. . . . From this we can readily foresee that we shall by no means falsify our idea if we constantly import into it the contrast between ends and means. For the groundwork of this prevision is already laid in what has been just said. For even every human work of art approaches the nearer to perfection in proportion as it fulfils the idea of containing within itself no opposition of means to ends, but each portion simply sustains the relation of a part to the whole, and the means by which this is obtained are external to itself. And when this is seen in application to the whole of a human life, we discern a still higher example of perfection. How much more, then, should not the Divine wisdom so exclude this opposition, that, since there is nothing external to the universe that could be employed as means, everything within its range should be so ordered that, considered in its connection with all the rest, it should simply sustain the relation of a part to the whole, while at the same time each, taken simply by itself, should be so completely at once means and end, that this mode of conception should in each instance cease to be applicable and be merged in the other!"

His concluding commentary on the Second Thesis runs thus:—

"Here the Divine wisdom, regarded as an unfolding of Love, introduces us to the domain of Christian Ethics, inasmuch as the problem arises for us, how to further continually the recog-

nition of the universe as good, and gradually to bring all things to become the organ of the Divine Spirit, in conformity with the original underlying Divine Idea of the world's order, and thus place them in connection with the system of redemption, so that we may attain to a perfect communion of life with Christ, both in so far as the Father hath put all things into His hand, and also in so far as He is ever showing Him greater works than those which He has already beheld. Hence the universe can only be regarded as a perfect revelation of the Divine Wisdom in so far as the Holy Ghost, working through the Christian Church, manifests Himself as the ultimate energy in the moulding of the world."

Thus in Schleiermacher we cannot but recognize the prophet who was the first to propound and carry into application the idea of the originality[1] of the religious consciousness in all its scope. And he has, moreover, apprehended this consciousness as a sense of dependence organically implanted in the soul and grounded on the order of the universe. Now this idea he has developed out of the self-consciousness of Jesus and the representation thereof given us by the Apostles, in such a manner as to escape contradictions and to demonstrate the contradictions into which previous theologians had fallen. The Redemption is the fundamental thought of the world's order; and in Christ, the Redeemer has appeared. Thus the atonement has been given through One partaking of human nature. Now upon this basis Schleiermacher has proceeded to link his system of Ethics on to the results of his dogmatic theology, such as we have described them. Both must be regarded as a permanent world-historical boon to mankind. He has built upon a firm foundation, and has not completed his superstructure, but rather challenged attention to the necessity of carrying on that superstructure. This is particularly the case with his final words respecting the Divine Trinity.

We pass on now to consider the Prophet of man's religious consciousness to the United States,—Channing, a

[1] "*Urspriünglichkeit*," the un-derived or innate nature.—Tr.

citizen of New England, born in 1780, and the pastor of a church in Boston up to the time of his death, in 1842. He entered public life as the minister of a Unitarian congregation, and concurred with Locke and the great Newton in rejecting the Athanasian version of the teachings of the Bible concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, deeming it at once unscriptural and repugnant to reason. But he was far from setting up an Arian formulary of belief in the place of that adopted by the Church. In his view all dogmas whatsoever are but an imperfect mode of expressing scriptural truths, and constitute but an inadequate representation of the revelation vouchsafed to us in the Bible. Indeed, according to Channing, Christianity consists in a divine life and a spiritual energy, which are designed for the whole family of man. In his view, the Christian fellowship is grounded on that filial relationship to God which is the root of the true brotherhood of men, and on a living and active faith manifesting its pure effects in love to the brethren, and a life of self-sacrifice for mankind. This doctrine he found running through the whole Bible, but pre-eminently conspicuous in the writings of the New Testament, and above all in the Gospels. The Bible was to him the written word of divine revelation; not a doctrinal system, but on the contrary assuming the facts of religious and moral consciousness. In the argumentative working out of these views, we must not indeed expect from our author any profound metaphysical thoughts, or wide range of speculation. Neither shall we find any special acumen displayed in the historical criticism of the sacred books. But we do find an almost invariably sound common sense, guided by the most pure and earnest morality, quickened by a burning zeal for the promotion of godliness in his fatherland and among mankind at large, and inspired by a self-sacrificing love for his neighbour; while with all this is combined a sober historical faith in God's word contained in the Bible. Hence his chief excellence in the exposition of the Bible

lay in two points. The first is, that while he upholds to the fullest extent the principles of rational interpretation, he does find in Scripture that essential and authoritative subject-matter of religion, which the rationalistic school of Unitarians are only willing to recognize as accidentally and casually contained therein, and to acknowledge only in so far as it does not transcend the limits of ordinary practical morality. The second is, that in his view the great Church of Humanity, with her reason and conscience, stands towards the Bible in the position of the judge towards the code which he has to expound. But with him this Church includes the whole family of man, with its lawfully ordered division into kindreds, races, and polities.

Now, since Channing spent his life in indefatigably and fearlessly inculcating these principles by speech and writing upon his fellow-countrymen, the influence of his personality upon all Christians speaking the English tongue can hardly be estimated too highly. And hence we can discern how it has come to pass that the man whom the older Unitarians of America and England regarded with mistrust, and Calvinists and Methodists with abhorrence, while the friends and defenders of slavery at once feared and hated him, no less on account of his moderation and calmness than on account of his classic eloquence, which reminds us of the most admirable models of antiquity, has already, within a few years after his death, come to be revered in every quarter of his vast fatherland, as a grand Christian saint and Man of God, nay also, as a prophet of the Christian consciousness regarding the future. And, without doubt, he is destined to exert a still increasing influence throughout the United States, on the spiritual conception of Christianity, and the practical application of its principles.

Channing is an antique hero, with a Christian heart. He is a man like a Hellene, a citizen like a Roman, a Christian like an Apostle. People take him for what he is not, when they treat him as a learned and speculative

theologian. Had he been such, he would have attempted to reconcile the two ideas of redemption and of atonement, and would have succeeded in conceiving of and representing Christ as the Redeemer in his Divine majesty and unique nature,—a desideratum not yet supplied in the Unitarian Churches of England and America, and which is probably the cause of their declining condition.

From what has been said, it will be seen that we are not to expect of this prophet any scientific solution of the problem of God's presence in Humanity. But the consciousness of that Divine Presence radiates from him so soon as he touches any practical question, and not only reveals itself in his incorruptible love of truth and his moral courage, but also in his treating every subject from a thoroughly religious point of view. This is most conspicuously evident in his constantly viewing religion as an individual concern, and his making the sense of personal moral responsibility the groundwork of all culture.

His conviction of the necessity of a progressive reformation, to be effected by throwing down all distinctions between the clergy and the laity in regard to the claims of religion upon the whole man, and thus at once enlarging the scope of its moral requirements and enhancing their stringency, is thus eloquently expressed in an Essay on "*The Means of promoting Christianity:*"—

"The truth is, Christian nations want a genuine reformation, one worthy of the name. They need to have their zeal directed, not so much to the spreading of the Gospel abroad, as to the application of its plain precepts to their daily business, to the education of their children, to the treatment of their domestics and dependants, and to their social and religious intercourse. They need to understand, that a man's piety is to be estimated, not so much by his professions or direct religious exercises, as by a conscientious surrender of his will, passions, worldly interests and prejudices, to the acknowledged duties of Christianity, and especially by a philanthropy resembling in its great features of mildness, activity, and endurance, that of Jesus

Christ. They need to give up their severe inquisition into their neighbours' opinions, and to begin in earnest to seek for themselves, and to communicate to others, a nobler standard of temper and practice than they have yet derived from the Scriptures. In a word, they need to learn the real value and design of Christianity, by the only thorough and effectual process; that is, by drinking deeply into its spirit of love to God and man."

In behoof of such a true, progressive moral Reformation, he demands liberty—liberty, civil and political—but springing from the spiritual freedom of Christianity. Thus, in his "*Sermon on Spiritual Freedom*," he says:—

"Such is the spiritual freedom which Christ came to give. It consists in moral force, in self-control, in the enlargement of thought and affection, and in the unrestrained action of our best powers. This is the great good of Christianity, nor can we conceive a greater within the gift of God. I know that to many this will seem too refined a good to be proposed as the great end of society and government. But our scepticism cannot change the nature of things. I know how little this freedom is understood or enjoyed, how enslaved men are to sense, and passion, and the world; and I know, too, that through this slavery they are wretched, and that while it lasts no social institution can give them happiness.

"I now proceed, as I proposed, to show, that civil or political liberty is little worth, but as it springs from, expresses, and invigorates this spiritual freedom. I account civil liberty as the chief good of states, because it accords with, and ministers to energy and elevation of mind."

In his "*Remarks on the Life and Character of Napoleon Buonaparte*," he says:—

"Now the great truth on which the cause of virtue rests, is, that rectitude is an eternal, unalterable, and universal law, binding at once heaven and earth, the perfection of God's character, and the harmony and happiness of the rational creation; and in proportion as political institutions unsettle this great conviction—in proportion as they teach that truth,

justice, and philanthropy are local, partial obligations, claiming homage from the weak, but shrinking before the powerful—in proportion as they thus insult the awful and inviolable majesty of the Eternal Law—in the same proportion they undermine the very foundation of a people's virtue."

And in yet stronger language does he seek to enforce the same principles on his fellow-citizens as a divine command of Christianity, in his Essay "*On the Duty of the Free States of North America*," in which he says:—

"The nation is not the fountain of right. Our first duties are not to our country. Our first allegiance is not due to its laws. We belong first to God, and next to our race. We were indeed made for partial, domestic, and national ties and affections, and these are essential means of our education and happiness, in this first stage of our being; but all these are to be kept in subjection to the laws of universal justice and humanity. They are intended to train us up to these. In these consists our likeness to the Divinity." . . .

"Man is not the mere creature of the State; Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all charters and communities; not conventional, not repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being." . . .

"This annihilation of the individual, by merging him in the State, lies at the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous, because the very end of the State, of the organisation of the nation, is to secure the individual in all his rights, and especially to secure the rights of the whole. Here is the fundamental idea of political association. In an unorganised society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no umpire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this, to give right the ascendancy over force, this is the grand idea and end of government, of country, of political constitution. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country, whether he shall have rights, and whether other States shall regard him as a man! The right of the individual lies at

the very foundation of civil society, and society, when it is properly constituted, confirms those rights instead of confiscating them."

This appeal to his nation concludes with the following words:—

"I honour the passion for power and rule, as little in the people as in the king. It is a vicious principle, exist where it may. If by democracy be meant the exercise of sovereignty by the people, under all those provisions and self-imposed restraints which tend most to secure equal laws, and the rights of each and all, then I shall be proud to share its name. But the unfettered multitude is not dearer to me than the unfettered king. And yet, at the present moment, there is a tendency to remove the restraints on which the wise and righteous exertion of the people's power depends."

If such a man, whose whole life and conversation, in the sight of all his fellow-citizens, stand in absolute correspondence with the earnestness of his Christian language, and are without a spot, be not a prophet of God's presence in humanity, I know of none such. But, in the sphere of theology, his distinguishing prophetic idea is this, that the Christian fellowship has no other ground than the self-consciousness of Jesus and the Gospel He brought, and that the intellectual systematizing of metaphysical points is neither the only nor the highest symbol of this fellowship. On the contrary, in his view, Christianity is intended to sanctify all the relations of actual daily life, and all civil and ecclesiastical ordinances ought to be directed to that end as their divinely given aim, while preserving equal respect to the rights of the Individual and of the Community. Such, as it appears to me, is Channing's significance in the world's history.

We must now, lastly, say a few words respecting the prophets of the Philosophy of History. This last-born impulse of the human spirit striving to search out the deep things of God, is the loftiest and noblest effort of reason among the Christian Aryans, and is their special

prerogative, since even the Hellenes, the Masters of philosophy, were not in a position to raise their contemplations to this height. Properly speaking, this sublime development of thought can only be said to begin with the early part of the eighteenth century; for *Bacon*, who wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth, had not advanced beyond a presentiment of the right method of conducting researches into universal history, and thus did but point out the true road to a connection of the historical with the speculative element. It was *Leibnitz* who first conceived the idea of a philosophy of humanity, and laid down several of its most important bases, speculative and historical.

After him, the two paths diverge and lie apart. *Vico*, of Naples, the author of the "*Scienza Nuova*" (1724 and 1742), who occupies an entirely independent position, is decidedly realistic. The Introduction to that work presents us with the groundwork of his system after a somewhat *bizarre* fashion, in the shape of an explanation of an allegoric hieroglyphical engraving, which faces the Title-page. But we can easily see through this slight veil, and discern that Vico was in possession of a thoroughly elaborated theory of the internal correlation of the world's history, although, from insufficient knowledge of the facts, he clothed this theory in a fantastic garb, and filled up its gaps with conjectures; which latter process in the language of modern philosophy would be termed "construction of the world's history." One of his fundamental views is, that language is the primeval title-deed of the unity of the human race, and the voucher for its progress in civilization; another is his observation of the points of contact between the Mosaic and the Roman legislation. In treating this latter subject, he takes occasion to display more particularly the various fundamental forms which both political and civil legislation have assumed, and recognizes in their progress at once a divine order and a process of evolution intelligible to our reason. In the details, with

the exception of what is connected with Roman jurisprudence, our author, as we have hinted, often runs into fantastic vagaries, owing to his deficiency in erudition and critical ability. Yet the circumstance that so peculiar a mind, to whom the achievements and aspirations of Leibnitz were utterly unknown, should be so powerfully impressed by these considerations, is a very significant testimony to the demand proclaiming itself from the most opposite quarters, that the sense of God's agency in history possessed by the Christian world should be made the subject of intelligent study, in the hope of thereby discovering a connecting link between a philosophy of the human spirit, and a history of the world.

While quite unacquainted with Vico, the great *Montesquieu* gives utterance to similar ideas, and with him likewise, they are entirely the outgrowth of his own mind. In the Introduction to his "*Esprit des Lois*" (published in 1748), the following theses are enunciated by the renowned President, so profoundly versed in the world and in jurisprudence, who is yet at the same time a master of picturesque French prose, a witty delineator and critic of the hollow social conditions of his nation in that day, and an unsurpassable analyst of the internal history of Athens and Rome :—

"The laws, in the most comprehensive acceptation of that word, are the necessary relations which flow out of the very nature of things. In this sense all existences have their laws; the Godhead has its laws, the visible universe, superior beings, animals, man—all have their respective laws. Thus there is an original Reason, and the laws are the relations which that Reason bears towards the various existences, and also the relations of these existences to each other. Intelligent beings may have laws which they have made for themselves, but they have also laws which they have not made. Their relations with the laws implanted within them subsisted before these self-made laws. . . . Man is liable to fall into error through the limited range of his mental vision and by a thousand passions. Religion is designed to remind him of his Creator, Philosophy of himself, while the laws are intended to remind him of his duties."

The unequal and one-sided manner in which Montesquieu works out this thesis is well known; especially his neglect of the inward, truly ethical element in the State, and his representation of constitutional liberty rather as the balance of three co-ordinate powers, than as a system of free self-government. Still the religious consciousness implied in those great theorems is not entirely absent in any part of his work. It was not his fault, that in 1789, those who professed to walk in his footsteps failed to insist upon the *duties*, while they insisted on the *rights* of man; or that, in 1815, they founded a constitutional monarchy destitute of free self-government. That the German Romanticists generally think so slightingly of Montesquieu, is partly the fruit of ignorance, partly, as in the case of Adam Müller, of dishonesty. His animadversions, and those of preceding and quite recent jurisconsults, spring from enmity to freedom, whether political or that of the mind, on which the former depends; hence, we may say in the best case, spring from a base servility of mind.

From our point of view, the fact is of most decisive significance that while the Romanic prophets, Vico and Montesquieu, in laying the foundations of their theories of the universe, do indeed acknowledge God and Christianity, yet, in raising their superstructure, they take their stand exclusively upon law, and not upon religion. They stand on the defensive against the claims of their Church and Theology. This is the universal and necessary attitude of Romanic philosophers towards the popular religion. As laymen, they have no right to know much about it, still less to enquire for themselves into anything affecting it; and, at all events, must not attempt to discuss it from their philosophical point of view. Hence, they come to find themselves out of harmony with the Semitic element and with dogmatic theology; both which, nevertheless, form the sources of a considerable proportion of the jurisprudence of Christian Europe.

As regards the younger Realists[1] of the French school, the present writer has already, in 1852, presented the results of his acquaintance with them, up to our own times, and has very little now to add to what he has there said. It behoves him, however, to mention the most important work of research on this topic, the "*Etudes sur la philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité*," by M. Brasseur, Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Ghent; a work replete with most instructive researches, and particularly noteworthy on account of the prominence which it assigns to the religious element in the development of Humanity. The courageous stand which its author has made against the attacks of his bishop are well known.

The philosopher *Lamennais* (whom we have discussed more at large in "*Hippolytus and his Age*") has left his great philosophical work unfinished—we may well conjecture not unintentionally; for its conclusion was inconsistent with its outset, and the socialistic and industrial elements had acquired a disproportionate preponderance in it. But we think we can scarcely err in supposing that a most admirably and originally expressed passage in the autobiography of the Countess Dudevant (George Sand)[2] is a swan-song, which has dropped from the lips of this singular and earnest-minded man; nor that it contains his true and final confession of faith with respect to the Divine agency in history:—

"According to the theory of progress, God is one, as Humanity is one. There is but *one* religion, *one* truth, older than Man. But this is as eternal as God, and its various revelations in Man and through Man constitute relative and progressive truth, corresponding with the varying phases of history. Nothing can be simpler, grander, nor more logical than this conception. Holding this for our guiding clue in one hand—*the*

[1] The term "Realists" is here used in opposition to the "Idealists," not to the "Nominalists."—Tr.

[2] See "*Histoire de ma Vie*," tom. iv. p. 195. Leipsic edition.

*eternally progressive Humanity*; and in the other, for our torch—*God eternally self-revealing and to be revealed by Man*; it is no longer possible to stumble and lose one's way amid the history of mankind, for that is *the history of God Himself* in His relations to us."

Lamennais' posthumous work on Dante gives him occasion to present some profound reflections on the relation of the Middle Ages, and of the politico-religious philosophy of Dante, to the conditions essential to the development of Christian Humanity. But the deepest and truest outpouring of his heart on the highest topics of reflection would seem, according to what we learn on reliable authority, to be contained in his correspondence, which is announced to be nearly ready for publication.

The *Second Realistic* School is throughout Teutonic, and for the most part German, and this has sprung up and maintained itself by the side of the great speculative School of the critical Idealists—Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. In this School the brightest luminary is *Herder*, whose not yet surpassed essay, entitled "*Ideas towards the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*," has not been without influence over the Romanic nations likewise. By his side stands *Lessing*, who, however, occupies an altogether independent position, and combines in a manner peculiar to himself an idealism like that of Leibnitz, with a realism based on research. With these, too, we must class the Apostle of religious consciousness in art—the immortal *Winckelmann*. The German Romanticists, with the two *Schlegels* and *Görres* at their head, display a similar intellectual tendency, but coloured by their leanings towards hierarchism. With all these writers, and no less in *William von Humboldt's* disquisitions on universal history, and especially on language, the predominating conception is that of universal history, with the sense of a divine order therein, regarded as a Kosmos. And, lastly, the great hero of the Kosmos of Nature, *Alexander von Humboldt*, has in nearly all

those portions of his world-embracing researches which have any relation to the human race, expressed in eloquent and exalted terms the same faith in the existence of a spiritual Kosmos, and a consciousness of the eternal and intelligible laws which govern its motions. All the men whom we have named, and all who have a right to be classed together with them as prophets, agree in possessing this faith and this consciousness.

The *Idealistic School* had already in *Kant* attempted a comprehension of the facts of history within the domain of mental philosophy. Such an effort is visible not only in Kant's early written "*Thoughts on a Philosophy of the History of Mankind regarded from a cosmopolitan point of view*" (1758), but also in his "*Religion within the limits of Pure Reason*," written in 1793. From the extracts already published of his recently recovered posthumous papers, it would appear that he cherished the intention, though certainly this was when his mental powers were already somewhat enfeebled, of proceeding to a positive philosophy [*realphilosophie*][1] of Mind, after he should have completed the circuit of his speculative philosophy.

That Fichte, in his system, assigned so prominent a place to the moral personality would have carried this philosophy onwards towards its goal, but that he treated history, with her facts, after too Titanic a fashion. Still no author, perhaps, has uttered nobler or more inspiring thoughts respecting some of its fundamental ideas than Fichte.

[1] I have here translated "*Realphilosophie*" "positive philosophy," because Bunsen uses the terms *Realphilosophie* or *positiv Philosophie* interchangeably (see pp. 289, 290 *note*), but he is far from employing the phrase "positive philosophy" in the narrower sense in which it is now frequently employed, as the designation of the *Comtist* school of philosophy. On the contrary, Bunsen seems to mean by his *Positiv* or *Realphilosophie* "a positive philosophy," in the sense of a philosophy which ascertains the facts of its subject, and so co-ordinates them as to arrive at the laws which they exhibit, fully believing that there *are* spiritual laws behind the facts to be discovered. See pp. 6, 126, 286, 289, 290, &c.—Tr.

It would be presumptuous to discuss what are the original and permanent contributions in the spheres of religion, art, and science furnished by the two real founders of the Idealistic Philosophy of the history of Mind,—*Hegel* and *Schelling*,—when we cannot present an adequate and detailed analysis of their systems. Thus, we must refer our readers for what we have to say on this topic to the Introduction to our *Organon Reale*, and content ourselves here with stating what will seem self-evident from our point of view to any one who is not wholly unacquainted with the subject and with modern philosophy.

Now, perhaps, this may be summed up in the assertion that those men were indeed the first to recognize that a harmonious blending of the Idea with History taken in its whole extent and depth, was the thing needed and the final aim of science; but that nevertheless, according to the general verdict, they are allowed not to have succeeded in throwing the bridge across the stream of Time from the one shore to the other. Schelling had proposed to himself, in the second development of his system, to set up a *Positive* in contrast to the *Negative* or merely Logical Philosophy of Mind. Now, such a philosophy, speaking in general terms, can scarcely have been any other than that which seeks to discover in the facts of the world's history the revelation of the Eternal under the conditions of Time. In such an enquiry, mythology and revelation (both of which topics Schelling has handled speculatively in their bearing on this subject) must have held an important rank. Still, the other modes of manifestation could not have been left unnoticed, while that of language must have challenged the foremost place. But, secondly, it would have been needful to establish a method by which to investigate the limits of speculation on this domain. It has to be enquired, whether the Absolute is actually drawn into the Development or only the Finite Spirit alone. Thirdly, no less necessary will it have been to institute a pre-

liminary investigation as to the reliability of the materials at our disposal, with a view to our obtaining a knowledge both of the Principle of the particular existence and that of its Evolution.

Meanwhile we may unhesitatingly affirm that by combining the results of philological, historical, and philosophical observation and reflection, Science is on her way to seek and to find the laws of Being, and those of the development of Mind in the whole history of our race. Such a knowledge will confirm the faith of the nations in a moral order of the world, demonstrate that the world-historical development has its objectivity in the Eternal, and more especially bring into evidence the eternal truth of Christianity as the religion designed for the whole world.

It must be reserved to our concluding Book to state the results to which our long pilgrimage has conducted us. We conclude the present portion of our work with a Table, presenting first the *non-personal* and then the *personal* history of the Religious Consciousness.

# SINISM.

## THE UNIVERSE AND THE FAMILY.

| KHAMISM. | TURANISM. |
|---|---|
| The Sun and Earth; the Souls of men and animals. | The Spirits and their manifestations to man under a state of excitement. |

# PROPHETS.

| A.C. | SEMITIC. | ARYAN. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3000 | Abraham | Zoroaster. | |
| 1320 | Moses | Brahmanic Philosophers. | |
| 1250 | The older Prophets. | The free cities of the Achæans in Asia Minor. | |
| 950 to 400 | The younger Prophets | Homer<br>Hesiod,<br>Buddha. | Lyrical Poetry.<br>The Roman Republic. |
| 1050 to 170 | Sacred writings of Contemplation. | | The Drama.<br>Philosophy.<br>Teutonic Rural Communes. |

# CHRIST.

| The Apostles. | The Martyrs and Fathers of the persecuted Church. |
|---|---|
| The Romanic, in the Church of the Councils (the Byzantine Church), in the Papal Church (that of the Mediæval period). | The Teutonic development |

| Political movements, Literature. | Ecclesiastical movements Contemplation. |
|---|---|

# BOOK VI.

## RESULTS OF THE FOREGOING ENQUIRIES, WITH THE PRACTICAL LESSONS WHICH THEY SUGGEST.

## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL REVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH BOOKS.

In the two preceding Books, we have beheld man's consciousness of the Divine Presence emerge from the sphere of the Semites and pass into the richer life of the Aryans; in the first instance, quite independently of Semitic influences, and then at a later stage, completely interpenetrated by them. We have beheld the greatest and most momentous transformation taking place in the successive stages of that consciousness that have thus passed in review before our eyes, and watched how it gradually rose out of the theocratico-prophetic stage which it occupied among the Hebrews, into a politico-poetic stage, which was the phase it assumed among the Hellenes. But in the succeeding epoch, both these phases are superseded by a higher stage common to both families, through the agency of the Person of Christ, and the originality of the Teutonic mind, in such a manner that the antagonistic elements are fused into a glorious unity by the power of a life-giving Force. Out of this fusion we have seen in particular the rise of two grand phenomena, both evincing the higher level which Humanity has now attained. For, in the first place, the new religious consciousness gave birth to a new worship of the Deity suitable for universal adoption. This *cultus* had indeed a connection with the Mosaic, but it was not the continuation of that; rather

was it the newly enfranchized spirit that had formerly been imprisoned within the now shattered forms of the Jewish religion. Thus the connection was in effect a liberation, and issued in the historical abrogation of the Ezraitic Mosaism. And, in the next place, the new cultus was delivered at once from the moral impotence of the material and ritualistic element and from the limitations of an insulated nationality. But a closer consideration revealed to us that this change implied an onward step of yet more comprehensive, nay of eternal import. Up to this era, the Eternal, the Jehovah of the Old Covenant, seemed to stand, as it were, apart from the Eternal inhabiting the human heart, acting in history, indwelling in the Race. Now, however, that likeness to God in which man was created, and of which we are told in the very opening of the Old Testament, was for the first time become a visible fact, and henceforward God was beheld and adored as the eternal, life-giving Principle of the development taking place in Time. Thus did there emanate from the Spirit an entirely new cultus, and together with that an internal organization of the Church in its relations to the world.

Again, when through the degeneration of the Church's fundamental ideas—the metamorphosis of the priestly office of all believers into a sacred caste, of the vow of self-oblation into the sacramental symbol, of a moral into a material miracle[1]—this new cultus was in its turn continually forfeiting more and more its moral efficacy, and consequently its rank in the world's history, once again there sprang forth from the same Christian and Teutonic soil a twofold scion of new life, whose vigour blossomed into restoration and development; we mean civil and religious liberty. This scion engrafted itself directly and organically on the Gospel of the Saviour of the world, and on the Teutonic Christian Church, using all else only as building-materials, or as a historical mirror for self-

[1] "*Des Wunders ins Mirakel.*" See note, p. 324.

contemplation and incitement to emulation or reprobation. In this manner, from within outwards, was Humanity renewed in both her spheres; in her religious and ecclesiastical, no less than in her civil and political life. From this inward source alone, has flowed that legalized liberty in Church and State which the dim forebodings of the nobler minds had discerned and proclaimed as in visions, which the yearning hearts of the people through long centuries had in vain hungered and entreated for; and of which mediæval mankind was on the point of despairing, from unbelief in God's presence in earthly things.

Thus, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, a new germinal point had been formed, which was at once the fulfilment of the cravings and efforts of previous millenniums, and also the kindling of a new life possessing an energy transcending all previous imagination, which life it radiated in ever-widening circles over the whole surface of the earth.

In the more considerable towns, especially of Italy and Germany, Civil Liberty with her two divine children in the individual development—plastic art, and a literature couched in the language of the popular consciousness—had gradually supplanted serfdom and priestly tyranny; and, moreover, this had taken place under the influence of distinct religious feeling. For all these products had sprung up on the domain and under the forms of religion. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was solely by these free cities, with their civilization and art, that Teutonic humanity was maintained erect, and Christianity held its ground. In literature, as much as in art, the scholastic learning of the clergy takes but a secondary rank. If Christianity was the true religion, it could not but train free, law-abiding citizens; in other words, could not but produce the only moral form of civil society; and this, again, could not fail to yield fresh sustenance to the free creative mind of the artist or poet. And both

actually came to pass even from the very outset of the new order of things. Municipal freedom, art, popular literature, flourished in fair communion. The invention of printing, the comprehension of past ages and their glories in classical antiquity, effected by the revival of Greek philology; and, finally, that last and noblest fruit of these efforts, the deliverance of the Christian Church from the yoke of human ordinances, and of science from the sway of baseless hypotheses, lent wings to that flight of the human mind, and rendered a true, healthy, energetic religious consciousness first possible and then actual. It was clearly evident that the opening of the Bible to the laity, its wide-spread diffusal, together with the acknowledgment of the claims of the individual conscience, with the inalienable duties based thereon of moral self-responsibility, had thrown a new divine Force into Humanity, which not all the streams of bloodshed nor arts of organized tyranny were able to extinguish. Thus the historical groundwork for the constructive elaboration of the Aryan Christian consciousness had already been laid, when, towards the end of the seventeenth century, a mighty intellect discerned for himself and announced to his contemporaries what was the highest problem for the future—namely, *a Positive Philosophy of the History of Mankind.* Leibnitz perceived that it was to the thinker and investigator that the sacred function of high-priesthood was henceforth to be assigned in the new order of things, and that it was a highly important matter to vindicate the claims of this function amidst the general exhaustion and inward barbarism of that age. Those who were the channels and organs of the religious consciousness were called to be the priests of science, of thought, and of research into the facts touching the development of mind,—in short, the teachers of mankind—and the faith in discerned truth ought to supersede the faith in the clergy and their traditions. Thus alone could that *faith of mankind in a universal moral*

*order*, which, during the stagnant era of mediævalism, had been shaken to its centre—nay, among the upper ranks, too often uprooted altogether by the general godlessness and misery—be once more revivified, and society be rescued alike from fanaticism, or despair of God and this world. The preaching of the Gospel should go hand in hand with the free reflection of the Mind upon itself, that Mind which is the latest prophet of God's divine order. Philosophy and research were bound to teach, preach, and diffuse the truth of this consoling thought. And these combined influences should all co-operate harmoniously to make the realities of domestic life, of the Church, of the State, Christian, therefore at once legal and free.

This was the final stage on which we have seen the religious consciousness about to enter. That consciousness of the Presence of the living God in Humanity, which lived in the heart of the peoples and had been proclaimed by many prophets of the Romano-Teutonic races, was now to become a science, a knowledge of the truth of this consciousness derived from the study of actual facts.[1]

We will here once more recall the main facts of the Christian Aryan life which made this phenomenon possible, and could not fail to render it increasingly fertile for the future of the human race. The art and literature of the Christian Aryans had arrived as near to the solution of that problem in their respective spheres as at any previous period of the world's history. From Giotto to Raphael and Michael Angelo, in art; from Dante to Shakespeare and Milton, in epic and drama; from Luther to Paul Gerhardt and Scheffler, in spiritual song; from Johann Arndt to Gottfried Arnold, in outpourings of the devout spirit in prayer,—a glorious stream of light had beamed upon mankind, by the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. The ecclesi-

[1] "*Eine Wissenschaft, eine reale Erkenntnisz der Wahrheit dieses Gottesbewusztseins.*"

astical reformation wrought by Luther and Calvin, the general study of classical antiquity, and the basing of education thereon which was closely allied with the Reformation, had imparted to those aspirations the popular character which till then they lacked.

Lastly, the practical embodiment of the new religious consciousness in daily life was not wanting. Spiritual freedom had in some quarters, as in Switzerland, strengthened and purified the freedom of public life, in others created it anew, as in Holland and subsequently in England. In this latter country, thanks to the virtue and intrepidity of the middle classes, with a portion of the nobility, and at last through the rising of almost the whole nation aided by the energy of a princely hero and champion of liberty, a groundwork had been laid for the historical development of the Aryan mind that was pregnant with incalculable consequences.

In all these movements it was the free community of the Gospel which founded and supplied the type of the free civil and political community, from its very birth onwards. More and more was it felt, that the Protestant religious consciousness must make good its ground by striving to render itself popular and political. *God was minded to be made man under the form of a Christian nation and a Christian State.* Now, in order to the erection of a more extended kingdom of God upon earth, than antiquity, or the free Cities of the Middle Ages could display, the Teutonic mind had from the first carried within itself the *Idea of a free Country*, and clung to and elaborated this idea as it had opportunity. It was not a city or a ruling municipal corporation that ought to be or could be the basis of that liberty, which the Teutonic mind was now striving after. It was endeavouring, in the plenitude of its sense of God's presence in the world, to rise to the presentation of a legally free national community, that should be based on municipal liberties and the ancient communal constitutions; in fact, a system

that would amount to local self-government qualifying for a living energetic participation in general affairs and the highest functions of public life by means of a representative body for the whole country. It was no longer the city with its adjacent territory, it was the whole country that was to be the depositary of freedom and of the full popular self-consciousness; and, moreover, this principle was to go on expanding in wider and wider circles. Germany was the birthplace of the Reformation, but she had not become the home of the life thereby awakened. The scholastic controversies of her theologians, and the conspiracy of the Popes with the Roman Catholic dynasties, had enkindled at the beginning of the seventeenth century a murderous war, which, after ravaging and desolating the whole of Germany for thirty years, had left one half of that country, and notably the Netherlands, bowed down in double servitude. But about the middle of the century, a great Prince, Frederick William of Brandenburg, had, however, laid the foundations of freedom there by an honest dictatorship; one generation before Leibnitz lifted the German intellect to the heights of reflective religious consciousness by the philosophy which he founded, and the analysis he instituted of the spiritual phenomena presenting themselves in history. Spinoza had not succeeded in effecting an entrance into this domain, and Lord Bacon had left the philosophy of history even more completely unexplored than the field of critical research, although he had pointed out the preparatory paths which must inevitably lead up to those regions.

Such was the position of affairs in Europe, when, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, the genius of Leibnitz charged itself with the great problem of establishing by philosophical arguments the self-determination of the personal mind, and the presence of a divine element in the actual facts of human development; and moreover worked up to this result equally by the two pathways of speculation and of the observation of facts. Such an

attempt was in harmony with the tendencies of European thought and with Christianity, and it found a response throughout the whole intellectual world of Europe, but most of all among the Protestant nations, for among the Romanic, free learning found itself at issue with existing institutions. And above all in the depths of the German intellect did it find its natural soil and congenial atmosphere, insomuch that up to the present day most of the leaders on this path have been German philosophers and scholars. The given impulse has struck deep roots in the German culture through the fertilizing influence of speculative ideas; these latter again assume a popular shape, so that the products of the schools have come to make up a very considerable portion of the German literature. But already now we see that even the French mind, which at first took up an attitude of negation towards the German ideas, and the English, which occupied that of a mere spectator, are being caught up and carried away by this current of the world's thought. Nay, Germany will now need to strain her energies afresh, if she is to keep pace with what is at present preparing for contribution not only in England but also in the Romanic countries, especially France and Italy, towards that positive or real philosophy of Mind which is the universal goal of aspiration.[1]

This development of the religious consciousness under the form of a science of universal history, not only constitutes an internally correlated and inseverable sequence; it also betokens a distinct onward step in the concrete development[2] of the Divine in the world itself. It reveals the onward march of the Divine Spirit subjected to the conditions of phenomenal evolution. It is evidently implied in the very essence, the primary idea of the Divine developing itself in the Finite, that it attains the consciousness

[1] The original here is:—"*der allgemeinen angestrebten positiven oder Realphilosophie des Geistes.*"—TR.

[2] "*reale Entwickelung.*"

of its truth through the concept of itself. This, even Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle have not only believed, but as regards that in which they are agreed—the moral, spiritual, fundamental thought of Socrates—have proved for all time. But even the most successful purely dialectic development does not constitute the highest or ultimate aim. One of our greatest thinkers has even termed it in comparison with that former revelation of the Spirit, *negative* philosophy, while he demands, if he has not himself already supplied, its opposite, a positive philosophy of the Spirit. Speculation and research are the two requisite preliminary steps that must precede any representation on a world-wide scale of the development itself, or exhibition of its laws as those of the *Divine Kosmos of Mind in the Finite.* History and philosophy must co-operate towards this representation, not in order to lose their separate and independent character, but in order to yield their highest results in common efficiency.

From this point two series of contemplation open before us. The one will have for its termination the scientific problem now lying before us of the construction of a real or positive philosophy of universal history;[1] the other that of stating the results and inferences which we are already in a position to deduce from the historical facts relating to the development of the religious consciousness that have here been brought to our knowledge.

As regards the former topic, we can only say this much here. For the construction of a positive philosophy of Mind whose apex should be the consciousness of God, the first thing that is requisite is a documentary and, as far as may be, autoptical survey of the attempts hitherto made at a philosophical treatment of the subject, i.e. of all the phenomena having reference to man's sense of God's agency in history. But this could hardly be achieved without a methodical discussion of the most characteristic utterances of those authors; for nothing short

[1] "*einer realen oder positiven Philosophie der Weltgeschichte.*"

of this would qualify the reader to form his own judgment. Unfortunately, however, many of their writings are now forgotten, and many others not so well known and familiar to scholars as they deserve. Moreover, to such a general survey ought to be added passages scattered up and down various authors bearing on the philosophy of history, which are not only models for the classic presentment of sublime ideas, but also of abiding philosophic interest. Such passages often elucidate the purely speculative fundamental thoughts, just as much as they certainly on the other hand often require an acquaintance with the latter in order to be properly understood themselves.

Such a succinct documentary survey would need, however, to be accompanied by a historical and philosophical critique, in order to determine to what extent the great problem itself has been apprehended or solved by those thinkers.

Now it appears to us that such a procedure would confirm the correctness of three theses which we have had occasion more than once to put forth in the course of this work. We mean, first, the view that the speculative construction of the science (and to a certain degree the historical delineation) of that *moral order of the world* does form the common centre of the various speculative systems. Secondly, that the method by which to discover the *laws governing the development of Humanity*, and moreover from the standing-point of the religious consciousness, has been the aim, though pursued sometimes consciously sometimes unconsciously, of the great critical school of the philosophy of Mind. Thirdly, that these various efforts on the part of the Leibnitzian and Kantian schools do present an organic development, on which it is possible to erect a superstructure with the auxiliary of a philosophical treatment of the historical element. Thus it is only through the colligation of these two elements that it is possible to lay any secure *speculative basis for a*

*Positive Philosophy of History.* But by such an organic combination, we may hope to be placed in a position fully to apprehend the problems of the present and to prepare the way for their further solution.

Thus it is the second series of contemplations that will form the exclusive subject of this our concluding Book. In treating it we shall have to fix our eye on two points. First, the immediate universal *Results* of the facts presented in the former parts of this work; and then, secondly, the *Inferences* to be drawn from those results in reference to the existing conditions of things. Both sets of considerations, but especially the latter, will lead us back to the fundamental postulates and starting-point of our First Book; and, we may hope, will afford a satisfactory confirmation of what has been there affirmed or hinted at.

The Results will start from the domain traversed by the course of development regarded as a chronological series. We put the questions: Has the development taking place in Time an internal interdependence, and if so, what is it? We shall then further ask: Does the historical series of development constitute an inward unity? Does it reveal a progress? Lastly, on the principles of analogy and induction, would it appear that any laws, governing the growth or decadence of any given nation or epoch, do reveal themselves? And what is the final verdict delivered by these results as regards the development of Humanity?

This proceeding will conduct us as it seems to me to five great Theses, which we shall present in the next chapter.

If our Results are substantially true, upon the testimony given by Humanity herself in the records we have placed before our readers, they cannot but give rise to Inferences of no less importance for the present and the whole future of our race. It is not until we have reached this point that we are in a position to reply to the queries we have

started in the Introduction to this work. But since we are as firmly convinced of the substantial truth of the documentarily-attested facts we have been considering, as we are of our own existence, we certainly cannot evade the duty of looking in the face the conditions of the present, in so far as they are immediately concerned with the topic of our enquiries. Since, however, our work is no more intended to subserve a particular practical aim than a speculative theory, we shall in this concluding chapter restrict ourselves rigidly within the narrowest limits of a general historico-philosophical survey.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE WORLD-HISTORICAL RESULT.

*The development of man's religious consciousness in Time takes place by means of Races and Persons, and rests on a historical connection, carried on by means of language.*

A COURSE of development in man's consciousness of the Divine, extending over nearly five thousand years, has now passed in review before us. Doubtless many languages and peoples, many heroes and their deeds have perished in the stream of the world's history, but that which has proved itself to be the constructive element of society is also that which has survived as the noblest. The questions now arise, whether in this sequence any recognizable chain of connection reveals itself, and if so, what that chain is? whether any unity of progress is discernible? and if so, whether, or to what extent, this unity coincides with the ethnological development of mankind made known to us by language? All history of the religious consciousness must repose upon language, not only because it is the historical record, but also because it is the primordial work of the human intellect.

Comparative philology enables us (as we have shown in our English work, "*Outlines of the Philosophy of History and Religion*") to exhibit the course of ethnological development in the following scheme :—

## SINISM.

THE LANGUAGE OF PURE SUBSTANCE.

| KHAMISM, | TURANISM. |
| --- | --- |
| or the rudiments of organic inflectional language: carried on through the Egyptian branch of that stock emigrating from Western Asia. | The language of agglutination or particles: in many progressive stages. |
| SEMITISM, | ARYANISM. |
| or the advance of the inflectional language to the triliteral (dissyllabic) formation of roots, and to the conjugation of the idea of the predicate. | The perfect inflectional language. |

From the primeval language that has grown up and fixed itself in the remotest eastern corner of Southern Asia—the northern portion of the Chinese Empire—human language advances onwards in Central Asia along two routes. The easternmost of these taking up its first sojourn around the Altai mountains and the countries adjacent to the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, afterwards presses forward from those regions towards the south and west. The second or western division, starting from the lands adjacent to the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, passes on in a southerly direction to Arabia, and thence to Palestine and Egypt.

Thus we may venture to assert that the Aryan stock has evolved itself out of the most advanced of the Turanian tribes, by assuming a new type, but the Semites have been evolved by a progressive culture from the Asiatic Khamites. Lastly, however, it can be clearly shown and proved by facts, that the most ancient Turanic deposits in Thibet employ Chinese words as the raw material which they re-coin, and that the Aryan roots, which are found in Semitic speech, have sprung from the same primitive stock.

Now, if we cast our eye over the series of development

in the religious consciousness that lies before us in religion, in social life, in art and in science, the following parallelism presents itself:—

I. Man's sense of the presence of God in the objects around him reveals itself in the first instance in the shape of a perception of the Divine in the starry heavens above the earth, and the family circle on the earth. The former presupposes the apprehension of a vast ordered Whole in the outward creation—the physical Kosmos or Heaven. Such an apprehension meets us not only as the basis of religious consciousness in the oldest records of that nation which has existed in a state of culture and exercised a formative agency from the very earliest infancy of our race, viz. the Chinese; but it is most deeply rooted in their very language. This language is in itself the oldest conceivable form of the intellectual (*begrifflich*) denotation of things, because it bears a thoroughly substantive character. It presupposes no other prior linguistic formation, while it is itself presupposed in all other such formations. But both apprehensions—the religious and the linguistic—are fettered to the purely formal conception of that Whole, because the human mind is at this stage still too much overpowered by the outward universe. It is at work, but has not yet attained to self-consciousness. It is like a child who always speaks of himself in the third person. Thus, just as a single monosyllable stands with him for everything—is at once noun and verb, and is also in both cases a very intelligible sign of quality—so does the word "*Tien*" or *Heaven* convey to the Chinese at the same time the ideas of Order and Thought, Idea and Will.

It may, at first sight, appear strange that in the cultus such a conception as we have been describing should stand in close juxtaposition with the worship of the souls of deceased ancestors without any mediating link between the two. And yet this is quite analogical, and in character with the earliest stage. The one pole of human consciousness is the Kosmos in its undividedness; therefore the earliest

stage of the religious consciousness in its aspect on *Nature*. The other pole is the primary relationship of *Humanity*; the binding together of the successive generations of mankind by the faith in some connecting tie above and beyond the life of the individual, subsisting between souls, and by a faith in the meaning of this earthly life. In all the higher spheres of social life, the agency of God in history is assumed as a matter of fact, but this history is simply a sequence, a succession, destitute of causal connection. There stand the two ideas of *Heaven* and the *Family*; but there lies no consciousness of the Divine between them.

Thus here the order of Time and the internal attitude of the mind coincide. *The stage of language and that of Religion are parallel.*

II. The next stage in the development of the religious consciousness has its representative in *Turanism*, the oldest form of which is transmitted to us in some of the Thibetan languages. As Khamism is the Mediæval epoch of the West, so is Turanism that of the East. Only here those incipient rudiments of an inflectional language are preserved to us, which in Western Asia have perished. But Turanism soon rises above the stage in which the mind works its way forth out of the inelastic shell of radical language to formations which fully take rank beside Khamism. Yet even in the highest efforts of the Turanian impulse to speech, the individualizing stamp is lacking which we find in the two higher Semitic and Aryan formations of inflectional language. It is the stamp of personality which is wanting. And it is precisely the absence of the sober intellect which constitutes the distinctive characteristic of the Turanian sense of the Divine presence. The human mind has already advanced considerably along the Divine pathway of consciousness; it sometimes feels itself face to face with the visible universe as a being endowed with free-will; as the Lord and ruler of what it beholds. This, however, is not its normal condition, but is dependent upon some intense stimulus, some

influence carrying it beyond itself. Hence the religious consciousness appears to the Turanian only under the shape of the highest stimulation of the Mind by Nature; it resembles the ecstatic state of *clairvoyants*. Thus the human being is in a passive and passionate orgiastic condition; and, in consequence, the mode of worship can be nothing more than a striving after ecstasy. The objective element of this consciousness disappears. We are now well acquainted with the characteristics of this stage through the researches of Castren, and still more through the records contained in the national work on the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, which the United States have set on foot.

When such a purely subjective mental excitement sinks to its lowest ebb, we can well imagine the springing up of fetishism; as when for instance the consciousness attaches itself to a tree, conceiving that object to be the chosen seat of the Deity. It is by a similar mental process that in Khamism, the serpent-worship and the adoration of living animals has sprung up, which we find existing side by side with that fetishism in many parts of Africa. Both are distinguished from the Bethylion-worship of the earliest Semites, by the circumstance that in the latter case, it is a symbol of the Kosmos revealed to us in the starry vault, of Uranus, or of Bel, which is adored.

Thus we may perhaps express the formula of Turanism, regarded from its central point, where it runs parallel with Khamism, by saying that it is a striving outwards of the spiritual and psychical elements of our nature, but under a passionate form; a seeking for the presence of the Divine Spirit on the pathway of unconsciousness, and of His agency under the form of magic. Such a religious consciousness is incapable of giving birth either to art, science, or polity in any sort of order conforming to fixed rules, for everything is dependent upon the excitement of the moment. A crowning-point and apex is wanting here even more than on the side of Khamism;

for instead of the stationariness of a mummified system, a decline into brutishness and barbarism are what is to be feared, for *divine proportion* is wanting. The seers of such a people do not become prophets, nor their great leaders sovereigns, but there are the rudimentary beginnings of both.

III. The parallel Western stage of religious consciousness is the *Khamitic*, of which Western Asia is the cradle, and in historic times, Egypt. But the phenomena which we behold in the Nile valley necessitate the assumption of an earlier development of Khamism in Asia which has perished. Here, too, our most reliable materials for observation are supplied by language. This, from the stage it has reached, presupposes an advance beyond a mere inorganic substance. Out of the radical words, the human mind has framed for itself complete parts of speech without remaining fettered by the inorganic addition of mere particles. It has sought out and contrived for itself some mode of expression for the mutual relations of things in a proposition, and for its own relation as that which predicates to that which is predicated. Thus this stage can still less than that of the older Turanism be considered as a primary one, even in that earliest defunct Asiatic form. But this must have had its origin in Asia and moreover in Western Asia; for there stand the two undisputed facts; first, that the pronouns and other primitive grammatical forms are identical in the Egyptian and Semitic; and secondly, that most of the Egyptian roots with which we are acquainted can be shown to be Semitic, and moreover the simplest form thereof.

Now to the religious consciousness also of the Egyptians the result of our researches compels us to assign an analogous relative position. It is no longer the visible Kosmos, nor yet simply the souls of the departed ancestors, which are the governing ideas of the Egyptian mode of conceiving the Divine presence: an organic distribution has been already introduced into the theory of the universe, of which the Sun with his yearly course forms the central

point. Lastly, the human mind is conscious of its own direct relationship to that same Principle which makes the universe into an ordered Whole, and the *destiny of the soul in the universe* is the spiritual centre-point of this consciousness. So likewise out of the Family has grown the Province and the State, with a distinct religious sense of personal freedom, notwithstanding the shackles of caste. Lastly, there displays itself a classical architecture and a noble plastic art, which portrays animal forms in a life-like manner, and the wonderful human form in conformity with certain artistic canons. Thus again in two more series of development do the stage of language and that of the religious consciousness run parallel.

IV. A peculiar soberness of mind forms the distinguishing characteristic in all the branches of the next, or *Semitic* formation; but this reaches its crowning-point in the religious consciousness of the Chaldean tribe settled in Canaan of whom Abraham and Moses are the types. Among this people, religion and language alike reveal an astonishing amount of calm sober intelligence. Elsewhere among the Semites, the preponderance of the secular element superinduces an inordinate striving after wealth and worldly honour, and the religious consciousness sinks into the orgiastic type, while the inward instinct of sacrifice degenerates into a Moloch-worship. But in that favoured tribe, the religious consciousness soars to a recognition of the Eternal as the converse of all that has come, or is coming, into existence [all in fact that has had a beginning]. Still this faith in the Eternal is so far from excluding the faith in His presence among men, that the aspect under which He is regarded is pre-eminently that of the guide of men's destinies, revealing Himself in their hearts. Yet at the same time, the contrast between the Infinite and the Finite, even in reference to the human spirit, is grasped with such tenacity that at a later period, the oneness of essence between the Eternal and the Finite Spirit is well nigh lost sight of. That recognition of unity of essence, which is the needful counter-

poise to the assertion of the contrast, is wanting, and this want makes itself painfully felt from the age of Ezra onwards. For since the Divine Personality finds no embodiment in the ideal of Humanity, the notion of insulation comes to be associated with the idea of the Eternal, and there springs up an estrangement of God from man, as though the Deity were but a certain portion of the Universal Whole; and this is accompanied by a rigidity in the outward forms of religion which are yet nothing in themselves. The religion of Mahomet shows to what an extreme of fatalism this sharp line of demarcation between God and man is capable of leading the Semitic mind.

Now to this highest type of Semitic religious consciousness, the Semitic linguistic phenomena only partially correspond. The triliteralism in the formation of the roots does indeed introduce a complete superseding of monosyllabism; and agglutination is rendered impossible by the presence of auxiliary parts of speech. Nouns and verbs meet us as the kernel of the language, and subordinate themselves to the terms expressing relation. Still, compared to the Aryan branches of language, the Semitic seem very limited in their powers of forming words into sentences. Nor does the mind as yet assert its own predicative action by using as a copula the substantive abstract verb expressing existence, but only indicates that activity by means of the pronoun in the third person. Thus here we have *a true miracle*: a miracle wrought by the divine energy of the ethical Mind in the sphere of the religious consciousness.

V. The leading characteristic of the *Aryan* religious consciousness we have already cursorily indicated in the introduction to this Book, and shown how the magnificence of its linguistic formations is a type and presage of the magnificent corresponding outgrowth in art and knowledge in all the stages of the Aryan development. The Asiatic Aryan did not succeed in freeing himself entirely from the trammels of Turanism with which he has had almost unceasingly to contend, inwardly no less

than outwardly; it was only here and there at most that he succeeded in establishing a free state of society. It was first in the Hellenes of Asia Minor and Europe that the sense of God in the free civil fellowship became powerful and gave birth to a free polity. But even the Aryan did not reach the highest stage of the sense of the Divine presence in the soul, till after he had been introduced into the Jewish faith as glorified and consummated by Jesus. Here again we have two *miracles of the mind*[1]; the inward force of personality, and the reaction of that mental personality upon mankind.

These are perhaps the most succinct formulæ in which we are able to summarize the historical development under the aspect of the religious consciousness. Before proceeding to the reflections suggested by the details, let us first distinctly state the great fact we have won:

*That the religious consciousness regarded as a sense of the presence of the Divine in the universe and among mankind, is found in all stages of human history, and constitutes a primary efficiency in religion, in social life, and in civilization.*

Does not this fact point us towards the intuitive nature of this sense? But secondly we find:

*That language and religion are primary products and acts of the human mind, and that it is only in virtue of a miracle of the mind*[1] *that the religion has risen to a higher stage than that occupied by the language.*

This fact is demonstrable in most systems of religion, but we are able to trace it most authentically in the formation of any given language. Everything leads us to the assumption that, by the internal organization of his nature, man feels himself impelled *to construct his religion as he constructs his language*—viz. as the expression and outward embodiment of his indwelling

[1] "*Wunder des Geistes.*" See note on p. 324.

spiritual life, taking place in virtue of an innate plastic and artistic impulse co-ordinate with the apprehension of the external world which he possesses in virtue of his intelligence. But if so, the idea of any sort of intentional construction of a religion in the interest of any *set purpose* whatsoever, whether that of ambition, or deceit, or the maintenance of civil order, is excluded by the mere positive evidence of the history of religion. Everything organic is self-acting in virtue of its own inward vital energy, and involves an inward necessity for outward embodiment, which it needs undisturbed freedom to conduct to its proper glory. Language and religion are indispensable to civil order, and may be employed to subserve all good or all evil ends, but they have not sprung from any calculation in behoof of those ends.

Mighty and significant as are these facts testifying to the spontaneity and the chronological sequence of these products of the religious consciousness, we are but standing as yet on the outer threshold of this temple of mysteries. Let us draw nearer to the shrine! If our consciousness of God be something innate, the question suggests itself, to what extent do its later formations stand related to its earlier? Did there, perchance, exist an original tradition in some miraculously gifted primæval people, from whom light diffused itself among other nations under the shape of language and religion? Or has this enlightenment come mechanically through some sort of magic? In the former case, religion would be, like language (which philosophers have even maintained), only "the tradition handed down from superior beings," or, "the heritage of a privileged race." Or is it again, as the latter hypothesis would imply, simply something mechanically poured in from without? Is not this idea when elaborated into a particular shape often inculcated on us as a doctrine of the Bible? On this point, too, let us look at the results of the facts we have discovered and presented.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CONCLUSIONS PRESENTED IN THE FIELD OF THE SCIENTIFIC OR POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.[1]

*The Religious Consciousness is the efficient cause of all civilization; and in its workings is exhibited, not a historical influence of earlier grades and elder races, but the unity of one Divine, progressive Force working in Humanity, and the influence of higher spiritual Personalities.*

On this point we have above all to guard against the delusive supposition of the existence of a secret or lost tradition of religious ideas from one or other of the nations of the great world-moulding empires. The whole course of our investigations has proved to us the contrary at every step. It is equally impossible to assume such a tradition as constituting the outer courts of the self-conscious Spirit, at the epoch of some three thousand years before Christ, as it would be to assume that Abraham derived his inspiration from Zoroaster, or *vice versâ*. The roots of Abraham lie in Chaldæa, the roots of Zoroaster in central or Northern and Upper Asia. We have both the one and the other laid bare before us, the former in the Babylonian and Phœnician cosmogonies, the latter in the earliest hymns of the Veda and in the Gâthas of Zoroaster. We are indeed compelled by the infallible record of language to assume an original common stock for the roots of Western and Eastern Asia which have now been divided for thousands of years. But it is *only* language which tells us this. Even the very earliest religious monuments of the primæval world

[1] "*Das realphilosophische Ergebniss.*" See note on p. 278.

already reveal the respective idiosyncracies of the two stocks. It is true that the Biblical traditions of the pre-Abrahamitic age, or that of the patriarchs, present to us much purer conceptions than we find in the heathen Semitism of historical times. Still the primitive Iranian consciousness cannot be explained by them. The structure of thought revealed by its deposits in language precedes all other coinage of the universal human intelligence, even that of mythology. The bond of connection must be sought much higher up the stream of time, but it is purely one of the essential nature of man, and presupposes nothing beyond a common original impulse to the construction of language and a common mode of setting about it.

Still less is any historical community of life conceivable in the Mosaic stage. The idle fancies of the influence exerted on the religious conceptions of Moses by Egyptian ideas, are as baseless as that of the influence of Mosaism on the Aryan peoples. Physically and ethnologically, Moses had his roots in the Canaanitish religious consciousness, just as Abraham had his in ancient Chaldæa. What confers on Abrahamism and Mosaism their rank in the serial development of the religious consciousness is precisely the engrafting on those roots of that Divine Spirit indwelling in Abraham and Moses.

We are indeed justified in inferring a community of life between the Aryans of Asia and those of Asia Minor extending from the formation of their respective languages up to the incipient rudiments of the mythopœic epoch immediately consequent thereon, but no farther. But from that epoch onwards, the community of life became continually greater through the Hellenes. And wherefore? Because the Hellenes shattered the symbolic forms, and replaced them by ideas and investigations. It is Ideas alone that enkindle and generate fresh life; hieroglyphs or symbols can propagate nothing but usages. It is only the Idea that binds together minds;

symbols divide even more than originally they have linked together. Thus Hellenes and Italioti, Greeks and Romans come into infinitely closer contact with each other than Baktrians and Indians, while Medes and Persians stand in the mutual relationship of being provinces of one empire and speakers of one language. Lastly the relations of the Christian Aryans among each other, those of the Romans and Teutons, for instance, are in a far higher degree intimate in religion, in art, and in science; while the Reformation, with the literature it gave birth to, has expanded the guilds of the clergy, the artists, and the scholars, into fellowships among the various peoples, in so far as the priesthood has not interfered to prevent.

Hence it would seem that the progress indisputably observable cannot be explained by the hypothesis of a received tradition handed down from earlier races or imaginary superior beings, but is to be attributed to God's Spirit working in Man.

The universal historical results we may sum up in the following theses:

### First Thesis.

*The Development taken as a Whole and in its widest scope does exhibit an Objective Progress.*

In our historical review we have already called attention to the circumstance that the constructive force of the self-conscious Spirit in human society presents itself to us as the history of the religious consciousness of the two great Aryan and Semitic stocks, who in their roots are blood-relations. All that preceded them was Nature-religion, the mere vestibule of that of the Spirit. But in this vestibule of the temple we were compelled to observe an indubitable progress from the formal consciousness of a Whole or Kosmos, and from the arts which rest on the secret magic of proportion, upwards to the individualizing of the heavenly bodies and elements and to the plastic

arts. Hence Egypt holds the position of the mediæval period in the primæval world with regard to religion also. The Egyptian religion is only to be explained as a mummy of that self-conscious Spirit that had awakened in the East, as the hieroglyph of upward-striving thought. But the conscious religious life has its seat in the nations who, though in differing modes, make Spirit the channel of the religious consciousness. *The Abrahamites are the priests, the Bactrians the heroes of the new temple-worship.* The former distinguish God who is the Eternal, from transitory Nature; the latter recognize and carry on His work in Humanity, and show forth man's creation in His image by their godlike productions, constituting as it were a secondary creation.

The higher rank thus assigned to the Aryans by no means derogates from the incomparable superiority of the Hebrew faith in the Eternal Jehovah, to the Bactrian Spirit-worship or the Hellenic polytheism. We have no right to attribute the faith in the Eternal possessed by Abraham, to the Abrahamitic religion of his immediate descendants, which remained entangled among the naturalistic roots of Semitism, nor yet to the Mosaism that was chained by legal restrictions to a ritualistic symbolism, nor least of all to the Ezraism of the Second Temple. In all these systems, faith in Jehovah is a tacit assumption to which its legitimate realization is wanting. The most ancient Mosaism expressly claims to be a new revelation, and places itself in contradistinction to the Abrahamic knowledge of God as the Almighty; but in its cultus, the Eternal is veiled from sight, and Man is not His only symbol, but is ranged under the form of a cherub side by side with the highest types of the animal creation, while the prescribed sacrifices are all of an outward description. Nevertheless, as all the prophets tell us, the Eternal God desireth no other sacrifice than the only one befitting His glory—the sacrifice of man's own will; and no vow save that of grateful self-surrender. The finite

Spirit placed with its free power of choice on the confines of two worlds, can offer nothing but what is spiritual to the Eternal One, and all its sacrifices are based upon the fact that God has given Himself out in the Finite; visibly and symbolically in Nature, substantially and really in Humanity. Man is the primary end and aim of the creation. Mosaism practically denies this human incarnation of God, for it worships God as though he were a Nature-deity.

Hellenism, on the contrary, manifestly strives after a realization of God among men. No doubt this aspiration is perplexed and impeded by the inherited Nature-polytheism which still adheres to Hellenism, but its true worship is to be sought where lies the central point of its peculiar religious consciousness;—in a free polity, in art, in learning. If Judaism must be called the mother's womb of Christianity, Hellenism must be called its foster-mother. The vigorous wild olive grew on Aryan soil, and the engrafted tree was the one that bore fruit.

Now, if it may thus be regarded as established that man's religious consciousness during the last five thousand years forms one connected *Church*, and, moreover, one that advances step by step under the influence of Races and Persons, it will be important to consider these two forms of development somewhat more closely.

### Second Thesis.

*This Progress must be sought in the advance from the unself-conscious to the self-conscious Mind;—from Organic Necessity to Moral Freedom through the Medium of Personality.*

The most primæval and spontaneous revelations and monuments of the human mind presuppose the existence of Mind, for they are its own work. But the very same records prove also that it was only by slow degrees that that consciousness of secondary creative power which we call history became vivid enough in man to demand an expression. Now this expression we can watch rising

higher and higher in the manner above indicated, not only in the language, but also in the religions of mankind. Out of Nature-religion—the worship of the Physical Forces —there emerges in this manner an ethical religion; till at length the godlike faculty of the self-consciousness of moral personality springs forth. But this leads on to the perception that all human relationships and institutions ought to be transformed and purified into absolute harmony therewith.

Thus the formula of progress which results from the facts of universal history may be thus stated:—All civilization springs from the religious consciousness, but that consciousness itself reveals the progress from the un-self-conscious to the self-conscious Mind; and, consequently, the historical development in Time runs parallel to that development which takes place in Nature, from Inorganic up to Organic Nature, culminating in Humanity. The Nature-development, which now we are only able to behold in Space, has in like manner evolved itself also in Time; but according to measureless epochs.

### THIRD THESIS.

*A Progress of the Religious consciousness in particular Races confers upon such Races sooner or later the leadership in the civilization of Mankind, and this issues ultimately in Universal empire.*

The founding of Babylon and the empire of the Chaldæans introduces into the world's history the primeval Semitic religious consciousness, of which we see the purer form in the oldest traditions of Abraham respecting the primeval epoch. From that era, the great Turanic empires disappear, and Khamism remains restricted to Egypt and Africa; while Semitism and Aryanism divide between them in Asia the leadership of the world. The great Chaldean emigrates and his posterity are set apart for a far distant future.

It is with the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus, that the religious consciousness of Eastern Asia, which had been elevated by Zoroaster into a spiritual religion, for the first time extends its sway to Western Asia, and reigns up to the confines of Asia Minor. From the time of Cyrus, there has never been a great Semitic empire. The Phœnicians have acted as a counterpoise to the Ionians and European Greeks in Asia and the adjacent islands of the Mediterranean, the Carthaginians and Jews to the Romans, the Mahometans to the Greek and Romanic Christians. They have even forced their way into the Continent of Europe; the Phœnicians, by their settlements on the islands of the Ægean Sea and on the coasts of Spain, the Carthaginians in Sicily, the Mahometans in Spain itself. But, as in earlier epochs, the Turanians, under the title of children of Nimrod, Mongols, Tartars, Turks, were the representatives of episodes and transitory antitheses, so do the Semites now occupy such a position.

This would seem to conduct us to three facts of universal history. First, that a unity of ethnological stock appears to involve a unity in the conception of the universe, and, so to speak, in the direction taken by the impulse to social construction. Secondly, that the development of each ethnological stock corresponds to some idea which forms one step in the inward unfolding of the religious consciousness. From both taken together, we seem justified in inferring that both the religious consciousness and the godlike impulse to social construction have, equally with the natural impulse in animals which we call instinct, some reality that corresponds to them; but a divine reality, which presupposes a unity of essence between the Finite and the Infinite Spirit. Thirdly, that the motive impulse to development is imparted by means of Illustrious Personalities.

## FOURTH THESIS.

*The Union and gradual Amalgamation of the various ethnological Stocks would seem to be the Aim designed by the World's Order.*

We know that every linguistic formation since the first, rests upon the wrecks of some earlier linguistic consciousness; which, consequently, presupposes the decadence or the subjugation of the population that was the depositary of that linguistic system. Thus, in this case, the amalgamation, or, at all events, the intercourse of different peoples, would appear to supply the impulse to a new formation so often as a new and progressive life germinates from the existing formation.

On the other hand, we see that those peoples which are the most susceptible of culture, the most energetic, and have contributed the most to mould human society, have sprung from a union or fusion of different tribes which are more or less homogeneous. The Greek culture, and notably the Attic, is the product of the fusion of the Ionic, Doric, and Æolic elements. The world-subduing qualities that distinguish the Romans are a product of the mixture of the Latin, Samnite, and Etruscan elements. In the same way, the Teutonic civilization is the result, partly of intercourse with Greeks and Romans, Celts and Sclaves; partly of the interfusion of the various Teutonic tribes. The English character has been formed by the action and reaction of the Anglo-Saxon on the Cymric and Gaelic elements, strengthened by the Romanized Norman element; the French, by a different compound of the Germanic and Celtic with the predominating Latin element. What gave rise to the greatness of Spain, was the interpenetration of the Roman and Teutonic elements with Celts, Arabs, and Turanic Basques. The so-called absolutely unmixed peoples never take a high place in the world's history, although they

may continue for a long time to occupy a very respectable station as regards their internal condition.

Does not this compel us to suppose that the crossing, and ultimately the amalgamation of the various races, is the end designed by the constitution of the world? May not that fusion which has already extended itself to nearly all the Aryan races, nay, which has already begun to take up into itself Semitic and Turanic elements, expand into much wider circles? Have we not witnessed in our own days, notwithstanding all the falsehoods and fables propagated to the contrary (which indeed have generally been invented and diffused for a purpose), that the progeny of mixed marriages has formed races of permanent fertility; such, for instance, as the Creoles and Mulattoes, or the children of English men by New Zealand women? And do we not find that in these instances, the principle enunciated by Herder holds good, that the more harmonious, therefore beautiful, form gradually tends to supplant the lower, because more partial, and to elevate it into its own higher type?

Now, if we may assume this to be a universal law, it would appear to result from it that Humanity has still a protracted course of development before it. For this intermixture of races has only just begun to take place on any large scale.

### Fifth Thesis.

*In philosophical language, every such Intermixture signifies more or less the surmounting of antagonisms in the development of the Idea, and such a process is constantly the Formula of Progress.*

Every ethnological stock corresponds, though under the living, free form of individuality, to some component fraction of the whole Idea [of Humanity]; and therefore forasmuch as the collective Idea only advances by means of antitheses—to some antithesis. Now, moreover, there are three antitheses which do actually present themselves

as the contrast between the national and the universal human elements, and also as antitheses in the several branches of human culture. To these are to be added those primary antitheses of human nature, which we have discussed in our Introductory Book and shown to be complementary ideas or correlates, and on whose action and reaction the continuance of the human race depends:—

The Individual and the Community;
Conscience and Reason;
Material and Form;
Idea and Symbol;
Intellectual Concept and Fact.

As regards the three former of these antitheses, they find their solution collectively only in maintaining the harmonious efficiency of the three eternal Factors, which are:—

| *The Eternal,* | *The pure Personality,* | *The Community,* |
|---|---|---|
| GOD; | MAN; | HUMANITY; |

or, as we found them expressed in the Divine consciousness of Christ:—

| THE FATHER, | THE SON, | THE HOLY GHOST. |
|---|---|---|

The collective, no less than the individual Self, is of its own nature purely self-seeking; hence this holds good of the national Self also. But in like manner as those bonds of self-seeking are loosed by the love of the family which is the Self re-born in love; so is the selfishness of the Community purified by those Factors, and exalted into love for Humanity. And by a similar process do we, on the testimony of universal history, find that the opposition between the Idea and the Symbol, the Intellectual Concept and the Tradition, Philosophy and Philology, Religion and the Church, is only to be reconciled and surmounted from the very centre of the harmonious religious consciousness.

We shall consider the nature of these antitheses in the several branches of the religious consciousness, after we have first delivered in succinct terms the verdict of universal history on the inward antagonism and the apparent analogy of the healthy (or physiological) and the morbid (or pathological) development.

### Sixth Thesis.

*The morbid or pathological conditions have, equally with the normal, their proper Law of Development. The Contrast and the Analogy subsisting between these two courses of development.*

This axiom holds good equally of all courses of development, whether religious or political, æsthetic, scientific or ethical. In all these spheres alike, there is no such thing as a stand-still, but always a progress in one direction or the other; towards growth and life, or towards decay and death. Have we not constantly seen how every single object of our contemplation has been modified, segregated, elaborated, intensified, enfeebled, decomposed? The great world-historical question in any great crisis is only, whether the movement is one tending to life or to death? There is nothing more similar externally, and more dissimilar in its inmost essence, than these two tendencies. Thus the disease, too, discloses an organic structure, but a corrupt one, inimical to the collective life.

What does history tell us about this? Here, too, the standing-point of the religious consciousness supplies the decisive answer. The true religious consciousness is essentially an inward and spiritual apprehension. Now, wherever in religion, or polity, in manners, in art or in learning, the inward element displays its energy most powerfully in its outward productions, wherever what is spiritual is the chief aim to which effort is directed, whether accompanied with more considerable or slighter modifications of existing institutions,—there progress must exist; for it

is from within that life issues forth into the outer world, from the centre to the circumference. This therefore is the pathway that leads to life, that on which there are ever opening new outlets for the Spirit, and Genius can unfurl his pinions with godlike self-reliance.

If this be true, a contrary result must take place in all cases where the outward or material element is continually being brought into greater prominence,—where the symbol is coming to be more and more made to stand for the substance, a form of words or an outward work for a mental act or for conscience, where a symmetrical form is accepted instead of its inner contents, an outward uniformity is taken for a vital unity, a semblance for the truth. In every such case, a heavy doom must be impending, whatever appearances may say to the contrary. For all Life,—the selfish equally with the divine,—possesses the irresistible instinct of self-preservation in accordance with the nature of its essence. Thus, where there is a striving after the Outward element, the necessity soon makes itself apparent of trying to conceal the weak points, and therefore of exaggerating their importance. The want which is making itself felt, then comes to seem as though it were simply owing to this weak point not being sufficiently insisted on, not being carried out to its extreme consequences. But those extreme consequences constitute precisely the diametrical opposite, the Negative converted into the Positive. Now, when such a path is once entered upon, the necessity becomes very soon apparent of treating the dictates of the common conscience as apostacy, of putting down conscientious objections as insubordination, and suppressing personal freedom as sedition. And then tyranny, either ecclesiastical or political, becomes a necessity. Now, since in our modern world, both the civil and secular powers are striving after absolutism, there springs out of both combined such a monstrous incubus of constraint and hypocrisy, with their appropriate concomitants, as was

unknown to antiquity. Hence it is that we behold in the spheres of art and learning, a conventionality, a mannerism, a tyranny of fashion—nay, a moral and intellectual hollowness and barbarism, which as far exceeds the phenomena of this kind presented by the Greek and Roman world during their period of decadence, as our ideal and the trust committed to us, transcend the task appointed by God to the ancient world.

To understand, while it is yet time, the crisis of this pathological condition, leads to reform, and may, with the aid of a spiritual religion, issue in a rejuvenescence. But if once the germ of life is crushed, then destiny must take its course, and revolution alternate with counter-revolution, till events take upon themselves the burial of the corpse.

But the saving instinct does not reside in the understanding. The most intellectual and sharp-witted nations often appear to be the most infatuated. It lies simply and solely in the earnestness of moral purpose. Hence salvation is impossible with any other religion than that of the heart, the religion of the life; therefore the Christianity of the Gospel in its unchecked unfolding.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE RELIGIOUS RESULTS.

### FIRST THESIS.

*The sole essential part of all Religion is the consciousness of God. Revelation is the impartation of this consciousness of God to the Moral Personality.*

WE cannot doubt that on the long route we have traversed we have clearly found the Spirit of God to be originally implanted in man;—indigenous in every ethnological stock that has contributed to mould human society; in every fellowship which directs men's thoughts to the Eternal. We have found that all religions rest upon the belief in an over-ruling moral order of the world; that is to say, in an order which is based upon Conscience and Reason, and which our conscience and reason are able to feel and to perceive. The revelation of God as the Spirit is given in a human being, and passes through this human being to other human beings and to mankind at large.

From this we seem compelled to infer that all religions have their well-spring in some human heart; that they are wrought by man into the shape they assume in the same sense that language is so; i.e. not designedly or arbitrarily, but because they are organic products of the artistic impulse, or in other words, of the instinct which impels him to embody in action that intuitive consciousness which resides indeed in the individual man, but resides in him as a necessarily social being.

We have further seen that all the religions which we

have been considering, set, before themselves the same end; namely, a restoration of that union of the soul with the Deity, which reason and conscience demand. And yet we find essential differences subsisting even between those religions which rest on a revelation (some Person who reveals the Divine). Many of them lose their inner basis in the heart, and therewith fail of their purpose; and eventually by a fatal inversion of the consciousness arrive at precisely the opposite idea; inasmuch as they are impelled by a perverted morbid condition constantly to exaggerate more and more the mistake once made, and raise what is most external into the principal thing.

All religions strive towards some objective embodiment beside the cultus, which is the primary product of that divine instinct. The most universal mode of its embodiment in action consists in the instituting and regulating of marriage, society, polity, art, learning, on the basis of that consciousness. In addition to this, many of the religions further possess a documentary tradition of that which has actually been revealed. Thus the first question to be put will be: "*According to this, what is Religion? What is Revelation?*"

*Religion* signifies two different things: an inward state of mind, or an outwardly visible fellowship and institution. In the former case, according to the terminology of the present work, it means the inward feeling and the impulse inseparable from it to act out that feeling. Regarded as an institution, it is the realization of the consciousness of the presence of God in man as a personal reflex of the divine order of the world in human things, showing that order to be one conformable to Morality and Reason.

Religion, considered as a fellowship, has its root in some usage which has gradually grown up out of the co-operation of Individuals and the Community; and which subsequently has come to be ascribed to a superior being who reveals himself to some privileged mortal and his posterity.

Or again it may notoriously and upon the evidence of documents have proceeded from an exalted Personage, who has given voice to the consciousness imparted to him by the Deity, and delivered or bequeathed to his disciples and the community, institutions or ordinances founded thereon. Such a personal communication with its acceptance and maintenance constitutes a Revelation.

The particular shape which such a revelation may assume, will considerably depend upon the mode of its transmission. Some kind of tradition is indispensable for any revelation. But the only trustworthy kind will be a *written* one, therefore a *sacred record*; for the whole course of history teaches us that when oral tradition is not based upon such a record, it very soon alters its character with the altered religious consciousness of those who are its depositaries. Thus the true religion will rest upon the pure revelation of the self-consciousness of some exalted moral Personality, and its preservation will depend upon a documentary tradition. But the appropriation of this true religion will have to be effected by means of faith; or in other words, the personal acceptance of the revelation as true and answering to the recipient's own highest self-consciousness residing in his conscience.

Finally, the object of such a faith can be nothing else than the Divine. But this Divine may be apprehended after a threefold fashion: first, in God the Eternal; secondly, in the finite manifestation of the Essence of the Godhead, in the Personality revealing God; thirdly, in the Community which, building itself upon this faith, lives in communion with God.

Since the Divine can be but *One*, the true religion and the true revelation must be that of *Monotheism*, but only in so far as the faith in the one sole Deity is recognized to be identical with the faith in the essential indwelling of the Eternal (or the Father) in Man—that is to say, in the pure Personality (the Son) and in the illuminated Community (the Spirit of the Father and the Son).

But the completeness and the harmonious co-efficiency of these three Factors will be indispensable for the maintenance and beneficent effects of the belief in the revelation and in the ordinances and ethical code grounded thereon.

This brings us at once to the consideration of the antithesis between the Essence and the Symbol or Sign.

## Second Thesis.

*The Symbol is of no value whatever in itself, but only as an image of the Idea, and in so far as it may produce an effect upon the moral and intellectual religious consciousness.*

The Symbol is the language—the word or image—of the Religion, i.e. of the belief and inner act of the religious consciousness. It speaks to the worshipping, as the word does to the meditating Assembly. It is just as much a sign, proper to Humanity, as language is an act of the Spirit of God in man. Hence, in its outward aspect it is a work of man,—the fitting expression of his religious consciousness. And it is the inward impulse given by that religious consciousness which has caused both the one and the other to spring forth.

But for that very reason does its worth depend upon its intrinsic import, and upon the power which that is able to exert upon the believing spirit. Now with respect to this, we find two opposite corruptions or defects. On the one hand, the Symbol is liable to become unintelligible. It was originally the spontaneous, self-interpreting expression of the religious Idea; for how else should it have sprung up, and sprung up everywhere, and in every age afresh? But it does not remain such for ever. Or perchance the meaning of the Idea itself has vanished and become as unintelligible as its sign. Now, when from this or that cause, in either of these modes the Symbol comes to be no longer understood, it is very apt to obtain such

an ascendancy as to usurp the place of the Idea, and of the inward religious mental attitude with its corresponding acts. Now on the evidence of universal history, from Zoroaster and Abraham onwards, this latter danger is by far the greater. To the self-seeking man, every sort of outward act, nay, even every sort of mortification of the body, or the most toilsome pilgrimage, is easier than the surrender of the self-seeking principle—easier than the inward resolve to do the will of God, and thus to know Him more and more.

Some religions have become entirely ritualistic; they demand nothing beyond the observance of certain external acts and practices. *Now on these the sentence of doom has already gone forth, and only awaits the advent of a more inward religion to be carried into open execution.* And this holds good not only of the various systems of Nature-worship, but also of the worn-out ethical religions.

Other religions retain in addition to this ritualistic element, doctrines, moral precepts, and inspired declarations touching the nature of God and the life of the soul in God, her dependence on Him, her separation from Him, and her re-union with Him as the Highest Good, sensible that this re-union is that which gives happiness and peace to the soul. But with these religions, too, if they turn their attention from their inward to their outward side, from faith and the dispositions of the mind to so-called good works (such as the turning of the Buddhist praying-machine); they, too, according to the testimony of the world's history—therefore we may surely say, in virtue of a universal, unalterable law of the world's moral order—fall under the same sentence of condemnation, suffer the same spiritual death, and henceforward work nothing but injury.

With them, as in the case of Nature-worship, magic takes the place of that spiritual Force which operates on the will by means of conscience and reason. *Every*

*Symbol to which a self-acting efficacy for moral amelioration is attributed, is of the nature of magic.* That is to say, this ascription rests upon the impious supposition that external Nature is capable of determining the moral will of Man. And when such a conception is also a backsliding (from a spiritual truth), it is an apostacy from God the Spirit.

### Third Thesis.

*Individual Personality finds its proper relative Place only in the true Religion.*

In our First Book, we have considered the profound significance of the apparent antithesis between the influence exerted by the Individual Personality, and that exerted by the Community, in determining the shape taken by the Religious Consciousness, and maintained that under normal conditions, this antithesis resolves itself into the life-engendering play of two divine Factors. Now, has not the development of the religious consciousness, as beheld in the whole history of the world, confirmed this assertion of ours, and illustrated it by conspicuous examples? The only proper and fertile soil for the seed of the Spirit is the Community, and the fruit that grows thereon is true civilization; while, again, the proper and highest goal of this civilization is the progressive reign of the Divine among men, the coming of the kingdom of God upon the earth. But it is also equally certain that the Spirit which resides and reveals itself in the Community is really and truly the Divine element which holds it together—that same Divine element the fulness of whose essence had been given out in the Personality. Hence, so long as the three Factors, God, Man, Humanity, remain in living and harmonious co-operation, this Spirit is the only rightful interpreter of the mystery of personality in general.

It is this harmony, with the clear self-consciousness

thereof in Jesus, which renders the religion of the Gospel alone capable of being the religion of all mankind. For nowhere else do we find that harmony; though we are now acquainted with all the records of those religions which have contributed to mould Humanity and guided the current of History.

If this harmony has its prototype in Jesus, its reflex in us, nothing more is lacking to its perfectness, or to our guarantee for its preservation, but the Authentic Documentary Tradition concerning His Personality, and its connection with that historical development from the bosom of which it has sprung, and to which it relates and appeals for witness.

It is impossible to replace such an Authentic Document by any authority or any system whatsoever. For in that alone lies the guarantee for mankind, that the God-conscious but variously assaulted intellect of this age shall not lose sight of the objective historical truth, of the divine *origines* of our race, and with these of the past and the future of Humanity.

### FOURTH THESIS.

*There exists no objective Norm for Christianity beside the Bible, regarded as the history of God and of Humanity, with Christ for its central-point.*

Revelation is essentially the history, first of Personality, then of its influence upon the Community. Under this aspect does the Judaico-Christian revelation present itself to our view, from Abraham onwards through Moses and the Men of God under the Law, up to Jesus of Nazareth. What in that revelation is anterior to Abraham consists of the traditions concerning the primæval world which have been collected, preserved, and placed under the focus of the religious consciousness by this great Chaldæan. From these traditions we derive instruction concerning the epochs and fortunes of the noblest races; and, moreover, their

teachings are pervaded by a full consciousness of the parent-fount of all human development—the reign of God, therefore of the eternal love and goodness. Into this unique record of Humanity are interwoven precious reminiscences of primæval history; and the whole texture is held together by the sense of the unity of the Human Race, with its divine destiny, and by the proclamation of the eternal goodness and love of the Deity.

### Fifth Thesis.

*The Christianity of the Bible is not founded on the Anti-natural or Legendary.*[1]

A legend[2] is the childlike, but when misunderstood, at the same time the misleading reflex of the real miracle or wonder[3] [or immediate manifestation of divine power], and springs up by a law of human nature either out of the poetic investiture assumed by some fact revealing divine power, or else out of the transmutation of an idea into a fact. But the underlying ground of such a poetic embodiment is man's faith in the two great miracles or wonders wrought by God—the Universe and History: in other words, man's faith in the power of the Spirit. Thus the true historian will recognize this underlying ground, although there may be cases where he finds him-

[1] "*Das Christenthum der Bibel ist nicht auf Mirakel gegründet.*" This passage, in common with some others (see pp. 65, 148, 233, 283), presents considerable difficulty to the translator, in consequence of Bunsen's using the words "*Wunder*" and "*Mirakel*" in contrast to each other. The former—"*Wunder*"—is the word which in German answers to our term "miracle" in all the varied acceptations which we may give to that word; the latter—"*Mirakel*"—is, so far as I am aware, a word of Bunsen's own coining, and, at all events, not in ordinary use. It by no means answers to our word "miracle" in the sense of an immediate manifestation of the Divine power, for which Bunsen always employs the word "*Wunder*," but is applied by him to anti-natural occurrences of a legendary or fantastic character, such as the pseudo-miracles so common in mediæval times, or in the more superstitious Roman Catholic countries at the present day.—Tr.

[2] "*Mirakel.*" [3] "*Wunder.*"

self compelled to resolve into one or the other of the two forms mentioned above, those legendary incidents which, after a conscientious criticism of the oldest records of the Bible, may still remain to us as believed to be facts by their reporters; and though he may be unable to do otherwise than regard the belief in the literal facts in the shape reported, as an imperfect form or as a delusion. In the Gospels, however, sufficient means of verifying the historical concatenation of the life of Jesus have been preserved to us, to enable us to understand the popular style in which the reports are couched, and to sustain our faith in the truth of the facts themselves. The eye-witnesses report actual facts as they occurred—but in the garb and language of their own time. This garb, however, is so transparent in its guileless simplicity, and so radiant with faith in the essential truths beneath it, that it may, to a certain extent, be termed unimportant how far they have or have not thrown a legendary colouring over the miracles wrought by Jesus. The accounts of the witnesses who report at second-hand (and further than these the Gospel narrative does not come down), are already less transparent, but the historical truth is no more obscured by this than is the spiritual fact which lies at the bottom of its legendary rendering. All beyond this is either the product of the play of mysticism, or of a hazy theosophy, or of a dogmatic theology, in whose eyes the fundamental conception has been obscured and lost. But so, likewise, on the other hand, is the historian compelled to regard all criticism that transgresses the limits of candid sober research simply as so much misconception, springing from a reaction against the extravagances of mysticism, or against the mere *dicta* and despotism of the dogmatists.

Thus there no more exists any opposition between faith and knowledge than between a fact and its intellectual conception. The object of faith is the true, well-sifted fact, in so far as it can strike root in the human mind. The object of knowledge is the intellectual conception

of that fact. It is impossible for either to contradict the other; but the fact will remain untranslucent without the intellectual conception, while the latter will remain lifeless without the historical embodiment. The combination of the two is the true Positive Philosophy of the Mind.

## Sixth Thesis.

*The presentation of an Ecclesiastical Community constituted on the principles of the Gospel cannot be permanently maintained without the formation of a Civil Commonwealth organized on the same type as the ecclesiastical.*

Forasmuch as the religious consciousness is sole, and the human being, like Humanity at large, represents an indivisible unity, no religious confession of faith can be an honest one, which does not make it the object of its endeavours so to mould the religious life of its professors in their relations to the actual realities of the world around them, as to place the Church in harmony with the demands of reason and conscience, with the precepts of the Gospel, and with the possibilities disclosed by faith in that Gospel. A Christian may submit to tyranny without losing his faith or his dignity; nay, the unavoidable conflict thus brought upon him may but intensify his sense of the divine power of the Gospel. But he can never approve of or acquiesce in tyranny, deeds of violence, or arbitrary government; still less declare them pleasing to God; he cannot but condemn them in God's sight, and acknowledge that he does so, when he is called upon to confess his opinion. When once it has come to be proclaimed and believed that the Gospel is divine truth, and the Bible the sole guarantee of that truth, holding coordinate rank with reason and conscience in their respective domains, then is all lawlessness or arbitrary sway, all deification of human absolutism seen to be nothing short of idolatry and unbelief. So likewise, objectively considered, it is impossible for the Gospel to be understood

and believed in its full truth, if it do not transform the face of things around it. Thus every religion of the Spirit,—therefore, above all Christianity,—apparently tends to destroy existing institutions, but, in fact, tends rather to sustain and restore them. For all that exists has within it a mortal factor, which craves rejuvenescence, and on which, in all ages, defects and injustice engraft themselves. It would seem as though the sins of the individuals so continually entrenched themselves behind society and its circumstances, that the permanent maintenance of existing institutions is altogether impossible without reform and restoration. Incapability of change is incapability of improvement; and incapability of change in externals, with whatever fair names it may glorify itself, is nothing else than an involuntary testimony to the dying out of the inward life, a deceptive veiling over of death.

## SEVENTH THESIS.

*The antagonism between the Hierarchy and the State is insoluble. An antagonism between the spiritual and the civil Community does not subsist at all, but the two are the mutual complements of each other.*

The mediæval Church, like the ancient priestly ordinances, places the unlimited power of a Spiritual Corporation, without any mediating and restraining bond of connection, side by side with (therefore practically above) the self-government of a people or State. That Corporation usurps to itself the Divine rights, sequestrates, as it were, the rights common to all, and claims the supreme sovereignty, (which amounts to tyranny,) in the name of God, inasmuch as it limits the jurisdiction of the State to so-called secular, i.e. human, therefore subordinate, rights.

The Gospel begins only where this claim is repudiated and cancelled in the name of God, justice, and law. And then do both the civil and ecclesiastical communities enter

alike into the possession of their natural rights. The reign of law is triumphant when the Gospel is placed upon the throne.

In this transformation the particular form assumed by the constitution is indifferent, provided that the freedom of conscience and the supremacy of law are acknowledged; for these two constitute the vital Force of all things spiritual and human.

## Eighth Thesis.

*In all Critical Epochs of the world's history there is an infallible Sign of impending speedy Ruin—viz., the overweening prevalence of falsehood and crime. In the sphere of Religion such a sign might be descried in the exalting of a Formulated Lie into a Sacred Truth, or the insisting on an unlimited tyranny over the Mind as a condition of the continued subsistence of Religion.*

Without entering into metaphysical investigations for the support of this thesis, the witness which has been borne to us by universal history suffices to show us that priestly religions are near their end, when they seek their prop in that which is hollow and nugatory in them, as though it were the truth, and demand credence for that which neither *is* true historically, nor philosophically *can* be so. When the Babylonian monarch suffered himself to be worshipped, the Persian stood before his gates. When Alexander played the god, his life and empire were forfeited. When Domitian abused the name of God, the axe was laid to the root of the mightiest world-empire of modern history. And all this must hold good yet more on the territory of religion. For there the question is not one of rights, but of truths; it affects not only the body, but the soul. Moreover, the conditions on which a spiritual tyranny protracts its existence are much harsher and more incisive than those necessary to a political tyranny. For, whereas such a religion contradicts the ineradicable

religious consciousness implanted in humanity—the unreasonable pretensions which it prefers inevitably render it necessary that the people should be silenced, that the mind should be mutilated and broken in conscience, that science, especially in the branches relating to the mind and its history, should be persecuted and repressed. Where this is insufficient to attain the end sought, there is no resource left but to exalt the lie itself to the throne, and to ascribe to a human being the divine attribute of unlimited authority.

Hence, in such a position of affairs, the universal divine order of the world will most pre-eminently vindicate itself. For the day of triumph itself will be the day of ruin, because it is that of insurrection against God. Were it not so, there would be no God, nor divine order of the world, and the whole history of man's sense of God's presence in his affairs would be a delusion and a lie. The Devil would govern the world, and the Evil One would be God. In other words, the opposite theory to that which we have propounded cannot but lead to utter unbelief;—and so it does!

But that this theory is a miserable delusion, the world's history will assuredly prove in each one of its great crises. The Divine Order can still less deny itself in such darkness than the sun can refuse his light when the morning red is flushing. If a State which pursues none but egotistic aims has no divine right to continued existence, still more does the self-seeking intolerance of the hierarchy and all religious persecution contravene the supreme law of the universe; for the highest fellowship has the duty of the highest love!

## CHAPTER V.

THE RESULTS AS THEY BEAR UPON POLITICS AND CIVILIZATION. THE CRISES OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS ARE POLITICAL CRISES.

We have everywhere seen political life flourish where it has grown up as a product of the religious consciousness, whether this latter manifested itself directly under the form of religion, or as a sense of justice and right, or displayed its activity in both directions. Already in the primæval world, we have seen how vast empires and mighty events have sprung from man's belief in a moral order of the world, and in his own obligation to subserve that order. We have seen this belief, under the guidance of Zoroaster, taking the form of conquest and proselytism, under that of Abraham, producing isolation from the surrounding peoples, holiness of life, preparation for the Law and the Gospel. Not less clearly have we seen the same principle hold good in the origin and progress of the Hellenic and Italic tribes in Asia Minor and Europe. And, finally, the history of the religious consciousness of the Christian Aryans, especially that of the Teutonic nations, yielded us abundant evidence to the same effect.

No less convincing, however, was the testimony of all history to the converse fact, that the continuance of dominion and power was conditional on the continuance of the religious consciousness, and that the decline of the empire foretokened itself by ungodliness and selfishness. By the term ungodliness, however, we do not understand indifference towards the State religion, any more than we should reckon outward adherence to that religion equiva-

lent to piety. The actual relation in which a man stands to a particular State religion is something that does not depend upon his own free choice, for it is contingent on his faith in the teachings of that religion and conviction of their truth. The essence of ungodliness is perfectly compatible with an external respect for religion, but not with the godliness of pure morals, or with a personal operative faith in the moral order of the world as God's work and will. The dying out of this consciousness is just as necessarily a cause of the decline and fall of a State as it is true that only through the energy imparted by this consciousness can a proper, healthy political life be created and sustained. God is not less glorified by such a fall than by the prosperity of a law-loving and God-fearing nation. For where else can we find the incentive needed to conquer the natural self-seeking of the individual, and stir him up to self-surrender for the common weal, but in that consciousness that God is living and present now in this common weal, and that we are fulfilling His will in promoting its good?

If what we have said be true, then the signs of an imminent crisis in the political sphere must reveal themselves on the one hand in the undue inflation of the power of the ruler, and on the other, in the deadening of public spirit, and the increase of selfishness on the part of individuals. For in ordinary times both are held in check by "well-understood self-interest." The rulers govern after an endurable fashion; the people worship self-interest with moderation and decorum, not because their religious consciousness impels them thereto, but because there still subsists a respect for honour, and, above all, a calculation—if but a shortsighted one—of advantages.

In this sphere, the formulated lie of ungodliness is, on the part of the ruler, the deification of unlimited power (i.e., absolutism) by the assertion of divine right. As though everything divine were not by its very nature

common to all, self-communicating, loving! And as though the idea of any unlimited human authority were not madness, and its apotheosis blasphemy! Through this madness we have seen all the Asiatic empires and sovereigns sink into irretrievable perdition, not by chance, but in virtue of the divine order of the world which does not tolerate an overweening mass of crime.

And can the deification of aristocratic or popular power be less impious, if it exalt itself above the divine limits set to man, and above the eternal laws of the divine order of the world? Certainly not! And here, too, we can discover the same premonitory symptoms of death. In this case, the inward contradiction is yet more flagrant. In the absolutism of the autocrat, the existence of freedom and rights is indeed recognized; but exclusively for the one. With an aristocracy, they are so already for a collectivity—for this is presupposed by any recognition of the rights of a community; but with a democracy, equal rights are proclaimed as a fundamental axiom, and then power is abused to subserve the vilest aims of selfishness!

In degenerate democracies, for this very reason, do we find the most horrible examples of political guilt, and of the retribution it brings down. In a democracy, the boldest and rarest step is taken of exalting equality of individual rights into a supreme principle, and demanding from all alike self-surrender for the public good. But when the freedom hence arising is misused to subserve unbridled selfishness,—when the sovereign people, drunk with power, exercise violence and oppression on feeble races and States, because their mightier neighbour desires their lands to extend his territory;—then are the most signal judgments of God standing at their gate, unless the better spirit of the people awakes in time and rouses itself to action. But that it will never do without a return to the regions of the Eternal,—without a religious upheaving,—without a personal ethical belief.

Now to sum up what we have here maintained, we may say that in the political sphere, the deification of selfish enjoyment is what appears as the presage of destruction; whether it be power or money, for its own sake, or for the sake of the enjoyment it brings, that is striven after by vile arts to the loss of honour. Rights perverted to the commission of injustice, the power of creating good abused to demoralization, freedom itself converted into an instrument for making slaves—these are the signs of the last times!

## THE RESULT ON CIVILIZATION.

*True Civilization or Culture is Religious Consciousness that has become flesh and blood in a People.*

Culture displays itself under the shapes of art, poetry, science, and national literature. The history of the Greek culture is the most signal example of the extent to which religious consciousness can reveal itself in these modes. But more recent history also has trophies enough to show on this field. All of which are united attestations to the fact that nothing in this culture is really great, but what is common to Humanity; and that culture dies with the religious consciousness out of which it sprung.

*Culture without religious consciousness, is nothing but civilized barbarism, and disguised animalism.* It is in vain that people attempt to conceal the falsehood and death. In art, the sense of form and proportion dies out with the spirit from which it proceeded. Learning sinks to a mere knowledge of trivialities, while all that is great and true becomes unintelligible. Literature remains for a time polished and smooth, though destitute of true intellect and taste; exaggeration is mistaken for force, bombast for inspiration. And then it only needs some outward mischance or public calamity to lay bare the hollowness of the whole social state in all its horrors.

Still the godlessness of a false culture is displayed in the strongest colours in those universal relationships which come under the jurisdiction of morals; in marriage, in domestic life, in social intercourse, in all spheres where loyalty and trust were originally synonymous with good manners or culture, while now a complete contradiction between them is ever making itself clearer and clearer to man's consciousness.

Thus nations, strictly speaking, perish through the corruptness of social circumstances; that is to say, of the primary conditions of common life, and the primary creations of the ethical mind.

But this very corruptness again has its ground in the corruptness of the individual, and displays itself most conspicuously in the dying out and loss of faith in personal moral responsibility.

Therefore in this sense we are justified in saying that the corruption of religion is the corruption of the nations, and that this corruption has its deepest ground in the degeneration of the original religious consciousness. But that is the very curse of immoral governments, that they evoke a large proportion of the vices of individuals, therefore of the general mass of evil on the earth. And this is the heavy responsibility resting on the upper classes, that through the corruptness and despair of the working classes they prepare a poison for themselves, and pave the way for the ultimate perdition of the State.

None of the arts of civilized tyranny can prevail to avert this. They always take one or other of two equally ruinous courses. Either they attempt to stifle all the higher and nobler sentiments by facilitating and favouring the sensual enjoyment of the masses and of the upper classes. Lavish magnificence is styled befitting splendour, fashion takes the place of refinement, moral laxity and indifference are dignified with the title of humanity, shameless vice of amiable frailty, degrading servility of devoted loyalty, while the setting loose of the brutal ten-

dencies in man under the supervision of the police is denominated true freedom.

This was the course adopted in the despotic empires of Asia, and things can hardly have fared much better in Tyre and Sidon. Still the most hideous example, and that in which history has preserved to us the most striking instance at once of sin and its punishment, is Imperial Rome. Can similar proceedings in Christian countries be followed by dissimilar consequences? Yes, for they will be far more terrible ones!

The other course is that of hypocrisy. It is proved by calculation that piety is a great blessing for the nations in which it is found, and religion the best instrument for restoring discipline and good manners, and ensuring the obedience of subjects. But instead of directing every effort to the production of an inward moral renewal, and leading the way to it by setting a good example, the rulers set to work to restore outward usages, flatter the priests, entrust to them the spiritual guidance of the people, and nevertheless plunge into the abyss just when they dream that they have secured the strongest props for their power. Instances of this kind we find in several of the Roman emperors, from Augustus onwards. Sooner or later comes the world's crisis; judgment is held, and the people and their rulers alike are doomed to destruction—the latter irretrievably so; the former are to be saved only by renewed spiritual religious consciousness, and the reception of that word of God's revelation that is ever echoing afresh in the heart of man, eternally young and eternally renewing youth.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE PRACTICAL INFERENCES.

I. *The signs of the inward and outward crisis of the present.*

If we may assume that our researches into, and reflections upon, the world-historical unfolding of man's religious consciousness, and the operation of the eternal laws of the world's moral order, have not been altogether destitute of truth,—the foregoing results flow so naturally and necessarily out of the facts which we have found to constitute the distinctive and correlated phenomena presented by the religious consciousness of mankind during the last five thousand years, that we are surely justified in inferring the existence of some Eternal Law underlying these phenomena. Even without constructing a speculative demonstration that such laws can be shown to be necessary in thought, induction and analogy justify us in assuming that a universal experience must hold good for us and our circumstances also. Thus, our own religious consciousness, too, whether in its bearing on creed, polity or civilization, forms one portion of the general development. And consequently the question presses home to us all;—what practical inferences follow from the phenomena and results we have been considering, for each one of us personally, for the present condition of society in general, and for the future of Humanity?

Among thoughtful persons there will probably be but few, if any, who, in the face of those facts and coupling with them more or less distinctly the reflections which suggested themselves at the close of our results, will not

state this question somewhat after the following fashion :—*Are we not even now living in the midst of one of those great crises, and perhaps on the very eve of a catastrophe of the whole of European society?*

We cannot, as it seems to me, put aside this question without culpable cowardice and criminal indifference; nay, nor without incurring the reproaches of conscience for inward untruthfulness.

But we may not conceal from ourselves that in starting such a question we enter on new and very delicate ground. Hitherto we have had accomplished historical facts before us, and our results have been drawn from conditions which have ceased to exist. Now we find ourselves midway in the current of onward-flowing circumstances in which we all bear our part, and by which, therefore, from the very constitution of our nature, we are all more or less borne along. Is that current setting up or down stream? What, in our circumstances, constitutes its upward or downward course? Are all things tending towards destruction, or towards re-construction, or are our circumstances of a mixed character tending in both these directions? Does the crisis betray symptoms of a total dissolution, or of a new and better life upon this earth?

We will begin by bringing these questions touching our present state to the bar of the science of Mind, with its practical applications to national education and higher culture. For in so doing we assure ourselves, if not against multiform objections, yet at least of a calm hearing. And this is more than we can promise ourselves with regard to the three succeeding topics on which we shall have to touch—the practical conclusions to be drawn with regard to our ecclesiastical, political, and social conditions—for in discussing these, it is easy to foresee that it is not, as in the former case, with scholars, sober-minded thinkers, investigators and reasoners—experts, in short—that we have to deal, and with whom the final verdict rests. On the contrary, on all those points which affect

men's closest personal interests, it is their passions, and lurking behind these, their self-interest and worldly advantage that are wont to dictate the side they espouse. Nay, so far from taking conscience and reason for the supreme arbiters, the numerous class who do not believe in those sovereign powers, or who fear to appear before their tribunal, are apt to call in the aid of very different authorities and arguments. This is more especially true of all matters relating to churches and creeds; for behind the screen of these, it is easiest of all to conceal motives and interests of a very different kind. To avoid unnecessary offence and irritation in speaking on this topic, we shall refrain altogether from discussing the present state or future prospects of the Romish and Greek Churches. Their defenders at least agree with us in asserting Christendom to be in the throes of a crisis. To their assertion, reiterated now for the last three hundred years, that this crisis is the fault of the Reformation, which is conducting the nations to their ruin, we answer with the apology of the facts demonstrating that this crisis has proved itself a convalescent struggle towards life, after a thousand years of death, or at least of a protracted course of corruption and error, the existence of which our opponents will not deny.

The next dangerous field is that of politics. On this too, in a work dedicated to calm and historical reflection, we shall commit the special application of our facts to the conscience of the reader. That of which we seek to discover the distinctive tokens for his benefit, has no personal or isolated bearing.

On these two topics we shall restrict ourselves to the formulating of brief propositions. Our work is a historical one. On all that goes beyond history and trenches on the domain of the present, we shall do no more than suggest hints, which may enable our reader to discover whether our inferences do or do not flow from the historical survey.

Our last section will touch upon what we include under the general title of civilization or culture. To those who are of opinion that in delineating the critical symptoms disclosing themselves in the present state of our culture, art, literature, and general social conditions, we have drawn too gloomy or harsh a picture, we will only repeat, that our theory of the world on the whole is by no means a gloomy one, and that if we have to call attention to grave and ominous circumstances, we suffer from them ourselves at least as much as any others can do, although we are not without consolation, nay, are full of hope.

But we beg all who sit in judgment on us not to forget that we are but drawing rough outlines with a retrospective glance on what has gone before, though there is much to tempt us to enter into details.

---

Let us first consider the practical inference to be drawn respecting SCIENCE, whose problem in regard to our present enquiry it is to discover the true method by which to arrive at a Philosophy of the History of Mankind.

### FIRST THESIS.

*The combination of Philology, History, and Speculation will conduct us to a Positive Philosophy of Mind.*

These three points of departure have been more fully considered in our First Book—the *philological*, for the investigation and sifting of the given facts as facts; the *historical*, for the discovery and exhibition of the causal connection and the evolution of these facts; the *speculative*, for the induction of the laws governing the development of the collective body of facts thus sifted and presented in their historical connection. Now, if at every step we have need of all these three starting-points for our reflections, less than ever at the present moment can there be any question of that "reversal of science," which has

been declared necessary by those who blaspheme, or, at least, mistrust, reason and conscience.[1] Much rather are we constrained by the results of our enquiry to draw the inference that, on the contrary, our most pressing need is a deeper and more living study of the Science of Mind or Spirit. That Science ought no longer to remain disconnected from man's actual life, but to be brought into more intimate conjunction with it. The human mind aspiring after knowledge ought not to be directed to mathematical studies, and told to limit itself to them; by far the most important matter for it is to bring it into a closer contact with present, and a more fruitful study of past, human realities. The only objects of our direct knowledge are Man and Humanity, and, in contemplating these, we soon arrive at the perception that they both have their first Cause neither in physical Nature, nor in themselves, but in an Eternal Thought and Will, which Humanity in its collective development represents without exhausting. Now, more than ever before, are we called to make an earnest use of the knowledge thus earned by such strenuous and toilsome effort, and through the contemplation of God, Man, and Humanity,—constituting as they do the eternal and only Substantial Being,—to build up our own religious consciousness, and through that, our whole spiritual life, to the end that we may emerge from the chaotic confusion of prior ages into the clear light of divine knowledge, and rise out of the slavery beneath absolute rulers into the freedom of the kingdom of God. In trumpet tones do the pressing evils of the age and the voice of all history summon us to take up this work. And the whole of European Humanity of all creeds and in all quarters of the globe is called upon to engage in it likewise.

[1] See vol. I. p. 12.—Tr.

## SECOND THESIS.

*It is most especially needful at the present moment that the Science of the Religious Consciousness should commence its work with the sifting and historical arrangement of the Facts.*

After it has been almost universally acknowledged that the speculative criticism of the phenomena of Mind has in the reasonings of Kant and his successors up to Hegel completed its course along the pathway of pure thought, and has not (even in Schelling's system) succeeded in arriving at a real Positive Philosophy, while the inadequacy of an aphoristic empiricism to such a result is even more apparent—there is no course left open to us but to study the phenomena presented by the Human Mind in Time precisely in the same manner as we do those presented by physical Nature in Space. To treat them, for example, in the same mode as the phenomena of astronomy have been treated for centuries past. Thus we shall regard those phenomena in reference to their truth, as products of the Reason; in reference to their essence, as answering to the Moral Law in man, and no less endeavour to understand their nature as isolated, completed phenomena, than to discover and state the laws of their development.

Now, supposing that the historical materials were already completely sifted—therefore arranged in their proper order and historical connection, according to the Categories, or abstract fundamental forms, of Finite Being, and therefore also according to the Categories of their consecutive existence or Development—then certainly our wisest course might be to engage without further delay in the speculative portion of the enquiry, and seek by the pathway of Thought, first to apprehend those laws governing the development of Humanity, and then to exhibit them in order to the strengthening and purifying of the creative religious consciousness. But to so small an extent has

this work been accomplished, that probably the major part of it yet remains to be done. Thus we must not shrink from the toilsome path of philological and historical investigation, but, in pursuing it, we must ever keep our eye fixed upon the lofty aim before us—the understanding of God, Man, and Humanity—that we may not lose ourselves in trivial questions on unfruitful fields, or, at least, fields which it is not our present business to explore.

At the same time, however, abstract thought will also claim and receive its rights; for only now for the first time will it, properly speaking, obtain its highest object —*Reality*—the eternal *Being* recognised in its Finite Development.

---

Next we must consider the practical inference for Education; *the problem of which consists in the harmonious development of the religious consciousness.*

The human mind is trained, and led up to self-knowledge best of all by mind. For this reason, language and history—presenting as they do the monuments of the human mind, and the exemplars of moral power and purity—are much more effective instruments than mathematics and the physical sciences for training up a nation into the full attributes of Humanity. Thus the first things for a child to learn are his mother-tongue, Scripture history, and that of his own country. But the higher education has, as we have seen, a twofold human root—that of Hebrew and that of classical antiquity. Hence, the higher national education likewise should repose on this twofold basis. The Bible and Antiquity are the two eyes of our religious consciousness, of our cosmopolitan and national culture. It is only when beheld through these eyes that the actual circumstances of our own age become for the first time intelligible to us in their divine and human significance.

Thus, in the general popular education of the masses, the biblical element ought to predominate—that is to

say, the world's history ought to be studied under the aspect which it presents to the immediate religious consciousness, with Christ for its centre-point. On the contrary, in the higher, more scientific education, the classical element ought to assume greater prominence, while the biblical should be left to a greater extent dependent upon the requirements of the individual.

According to this, the Bible should be the most widely employed educational instrument, forasmuch as it is the history of God. But it is only among the peoples of Protestant or mixed confessions that this is the case. Among the Roman Catholic nations, the Bible is prohibited—the teaching of history, in any critical sense, very restricted. Consequently, among these nations, popular instruction has, properly speaking, no sacred groundwork commensurate with the whole scope of human nature, but is obliged to restrict itself, for the most part, to the acquisition of outward proprieties and of those branches of knowledge which hold a neutral position towards the Church. This circumstance involves a quite incalculable difference between the religious consciousness of the Protestant and Roman Catholic populations. Among the former, that earliest and most sacred record of the human race,—the First Book of the Law,—forms the mental nutriment of the youth of all classes; and so too does the narrative of the life of Jesus, with all that hangs on both. By this, history in general and human character are presented to the popular mind (no less to the future mothers than to the men of the nation), from the central point of the religious consciousness. From the mother's lap up to the national school, the history of God, presented directly in its own records, forms the subject-matter of the instruction and study of the youthful mind of all classes, as the investigation of and reflection upon those records, does of the first men and noblest intellects of the nation. How, on the other hand, should a living religious consciousness spring up among an intellectual people possessing a

culture of long standing (which is pre-eminently the case with all the Romanic peoples), when the Bible is of all works least known, its diffusion a most strictly prohibited act, nay, even placed under the ban of impiety? Only to drive God's history into the background of educational subjects, is a worse act—forasmuch as the Spirit is more sacred than Nature—than it would be to veil the face of His sun from the earth! The consequences of so doing lie patent to view.

We may see the contrast thus produced by comparing Holland with Belgium (Belgium of the present day, not that of 1560), or the Protestant with the Roman Catholic Cantons of Switzerland. The statements put forth to a contrary effect (for example, those in Rendu's Report on the German Schools) are based partly on ignorance, partly on a narrow-hearted clerical mode of looking at things. But even the Protestant educational institutions have as yet by no means attained their full growth. This, in England, is owing to the absence of all philosophical method in teaching languages, or imparting religious instruction; in Germany, to the substitution of mere head knowledge for practical ability. The former without the latter is of a very slight value as a means of training, and, least of all, in the education of the masses and the universal national culture. In both cases, the mere knowledge may vanish without a trace, but the practical ability does not vanish at all, or at least not without leaving permanent traces and effects. It is clear that one is only capable of putting to a practical use far less than what one *knows*; i.e. has simply grasped with the understanding. But it is only what we can bring into use that exercises our spontaneous activity; mere knowledge exercises nothing but our susceptibility to impressions. The former produces active resolute characters, the latter is apt to produce only bookworms, dreamers, or idle talkers. The religious consciousness is life, and life is strength; but strength is only acquired through independent activity,

actual exercise. Hence the over amount of lessons given in our Gymnasia is not simply the result of the introduction of the so-called *Realia*, or non-classical subjects;—that is to say, of positive and technical branches of study,—but also of the decline of that religious consciousness on which the earlier Prussian curriculum was founded. It has been forgotten that our places of learning ought not to train merely scholars and professors, but human beings, statesmen, leaders of the people. It is only by the choice of what is best in antiquity, and by bringing into prominence the wide human element therein, that enthusiasm for classical learning can be awakened and sustained in our people. What has to be taught of higher mathematics, and other so-called *Realia*, must be taught in the Progymnasia, as far as the upper third form [*Ober-Tertia*, for boys of the age of 14]. Everything else should be taught in the so-called *Real-schulen*, running parallel with the two highest forms of the Gymnasia. For strictly technical studies, technical universities are wanted; and, in one of our so-called Polytechnic Institutes (that at Carlsruhe) the idea has been nearly realized.

In this way there may be left to the young men studying at our universities, time and strength for a many-sided human culture of the whole man. Now for this there can scarcely be any subject less adapted to form future practical administrative functionaries than a learned juristic training; and yet the lectures on jurisprudence at present occupy by far the larger proportion of the time and strength of the future leaders and administrators of the State, while the branches of study connected with political economy which in the course of this century have been raised to the rank of *positive* sciences, have remained almost wholly unknown to our statesmen up to the most recent times.

Now what connection, it will be asked, has all this with the religious consciousness? A most immediate and intimate one! The religious consciousness is the consciousness of an inward human meaning and connection which

constitutes the harmony of the individual branches of knowledge which go to form a complete man, both in their relation to each other and to actual social realities. This is the basis of the consciousness of God in the sphere of Education.

No less grave, it appears to us, are the lessons which the history of religious consciousness yields in the province of schools for the lower classes, especially in regard to religious teaching. The instruction given in these is intended to have pre-eminently the character of general training. If so, it would be most desirable to endeavour to re-introduce the reading of the Bible itself in the place of *jejeune* and dry or perverted "Bible-histories," in the schools, and add it to the often endless, if not unintelligent sermons in the churches. But the efforts of the schoolmasters and clerical authorities who have taken this matter in hand during the last twenty years, seem rather inspired by a zeal for the quantity and letter of the Scripture read, than for its subject-matter and spirit. Such a system will not attain the end sought either in the schools, the congregations, or the training-colleges for schoolmasters; but, on the contrary, excite only hypocrisy or distaste. Here, too, it may not improbably prove to be a deplorable circumstance that the men of science have for the last forty years troubled themselves very little about the revival of attachment to religion or the Church, still less occupied themselves personally with the Church and its needs. The scientific problems of how to satisfy those needs remain yet unsolved, and will scarcely receive their solution at the hands of our pastors.

Lastly, the GYMNASTIC BRANCH of education, that is to say, the developing of a healthy and beautiful physical frame, is also essential to the harmonious acting out of the religious consciousness in the individual and the nation. Athletic exercises ought never to have been discontinued even had there been better grounds for such a proceeding than those which instigated it in the days of

Kampz. But the revival of athletic and aquatic sports is not all that is needed in this direction. With the regulations now prevailing in most of our German schools, the physical vitality is no less stunted than the intellectual and moral, by the inordinate multitude of subjects taught. A boy or growing youth has, especially in the higher classes of the schools, almost double as many lessons on double as many subjects as he can really properly prepare for. Many evils are to be attributed to this cause; and in private boarding-schools also, to the want of sufficient, and sufficiently nourishing food, or again to the unconscientious shortening of the holidays both for teachers and scholars, and their still further abridgment practically by the mass of vacation-tasks. The healthy vitality of the nation has been lowered in every respect by these circumstances, and no less by the unintelligent pedantry with which the classical studies are pursued in many of the higher private schools.

That drilling for the conscription should have been disjoined from the practice of athletic exercises in our public schools is likewise a token of the decline of that spirit which from 1808 onwards revivified the whole national life, but which, ever since 1820, has been more or less systematically repressed.

There can be no culture and no religion without a living sense of God's presence! no proper education except by means of languages, the Bible, and antiquity, in their whole humane significance! But neither can there be any healthy national education without a healthy and beautiful *physique*, and a hearty sense of enjoyment in existence!

---

With regard to CHURCH MATTERS, the practical inference which we are compelled to draw from our foregoing historical survey is, that neither in *doctrine nor cultus do the formulas now in use correspond to the religious consciousness of the present age.*

The fact that none of the now existing more considerable communions fulfil the ecclesiastical requirements which we have seen to result from our course of enquiry, is too patent to need proof. And so also is the inference that all those bodies must either reform themselves or perish. For the distinctive mark of a critical epoch is precisely this, that certain morbid conditions which have perhaps dragged on an existence for hundreds of years, are all at once summoned by the voices of the world's history, or in other words, by the exigencies of the case, to reconstitute themselves from within outwards, on pain of finding themselves swept away altogether by a new Deluge.

Of course there is no lack of unanswerable objections and counter arguments which may be brought forward to the contrary on the field of theology and on that of politics; there are also coercive means by which to refute inconvenient reflections of this kind. But the historian of the religious consciousness derives his authorization from the exalted subject which the theologians claim for their especial province. It is his duty to investigate and to declare the truth of the facts; for that is the function of the priesthood of Humanity. No Christian ought to stand in awe of inquisition, persecution, or obloquy. Moreover, thank God! those terrors are only known to the readers of this book through the attempts of sophistical lawyers and theologians and their short-sighted aiders and abettors. After this declaration of our sentiments we will commend the following propositions to the reflection and consciences of our readers.

### First Thesis.

*The Church of the Future must be recognized and represented in all its extent as the depositary of the Root-idea of all Worship—namely, Sacrifice.*

The "company of the faithful" is the visible representative of the presence of God among men—His Temple

and Sanctuary. Their worship is the solemn vow to live and think agreeably to this sense of God's presence, in sanctity and self-devoting love. That is the true and original sacrifice of the Church. The Gospel demands this sacrifice and only this. The Reformation recognizes this in principle, but her formularies are only provisional and do not correspond to this demand. But do our bishops, Church councillors, and members of Church conferences, know and consider this?

### SECOND THESIS.

*The Subject-matter of Public Worship must be at once Scriptural and Spiritual.*

As the form of the cultus has its living centre in the idea of sacrifice, so has its substance in the Bible, which is world-historical revelation. Hence the latter implicitly involves an intelligent public reading of the Bible, of which the Gospel histories ought to form the centre; and from this centre outwards, a rational and scriptural presentment of the history of God's revelations to mankind should shape itself so as to occupy the ecclesiastical year. Have our Consistories and Church authorities done this?

### THIRD THESIS.

*The Public Worship must possess the elements both of Freedom and Fixity, but must never overstrain the significance of a figure of speech, and hence the Church's services should include Preaching, in addition to Prayer.*

The sermon is the word of God reproduced afresh from the mind of the preacher. Without the spoken word, Christian worship is incomplete, and stands in continual danger of degenerating into an act performed to serve an end, or a work that has no extrinsic validity; in other words, is in danger of falling back into Judaism or heathenism. Do the framers of our Liturgies know and consider this?

### Fourth Thesis.

*Prayer cannot form the subject of a command. But it arises and issues spontaneously from the religious consciousness of the assembled Congregation, when elevated by the reading or preaching of the Word of God; the consciousness of the Church of the Faithful, which knows Christ to be her King, and placing her confidence in her Elders and Synods, becomes through them aware of her own freedom.*

How shall the worshipping assembly edify itself with joy, if it is for ever kept under strict tutorship and rules, and never suffered to enjoy the sense of its own existence?

---

Our chief inference in the sphere of Politics, is that those States alone in which liberty has been consecrated by law, will be able to survive the present crisis. Here, too, the practical inferences from the history of five thousand years' evolution of the religious consciousness, stands so clearly written in every page of the world's history, for each man who believes in a divine order of the world,—therefore in a God,—and who knows the necessities of his own spirit, and of the present, and is willing to live and die for them, that it seems needless to do more than indicate those inferences in the briefest possible manner. According to the Christianity of the Gospels, liberty under the sanction of law is the only political condition well-pleasing to God, because it is the only moral condition. Nay, civil liberty constitutes the guarantee of the sincerity with which the Gospel is confessed, and is essential to the building up of sound Churches, and the restoration of the harmony of man's life. Further, civil liberty is necessary to conformity to the divine order of the world, because the Kingdom of God advances by means of Nations and States. Now, however, in every quarter there manifests itself a stirring of the spirit of religion which takes the shape of a national cause. The

two great antagonisms of the spiritual current of the last three hundred years have disappeared — Romanicism, which desires to conduct the nations to political liberty without a Reformation; and Teutonism, which strives before all things after religious freedom and moral reform.

### FIRST THESIS.

*The political has become a religious and ecclesiastical crisis, and the ecclesiastical a political crisis. But what the Peoples and the States really need is an inward moral renewal.*

### SECOND THESIS.

*The Peoples are demanding from their Governments greater liberty; the Governments are demanding from the Peoples greater sacrifices. But few draw the right conclusion from this fact; namely, the existence of an intrinsic contradiction which cannot fail to issue in a World-Crisis.*

In these two theses much more is asserted and demanded than most people would gather from the words. Liberty means self-government and the administration of your own affairs. But these two things presuppose on the part of individuals the strength to determine their will by ethical considerations, therefore the presence of self-control. Popular freedom without a revolution presupposes a mutual trust between all classes, founded on trust in God, and belief in the moral order of the world.

Hence, any people can indeed proclaim liberty, but it is only a nation standing on a moral and religious basis that is practically competent to exercise and maintain liberty. So, again, any government may at last be brought to yield to the necessity of conceding liberty. But if, after all, that inward moral religious consciousness is wanting in the people, which is the only fount of all renewal, how is it possible to steer clear of a revolution in the long run?

Our last inference is that no less do our Social Conditions reveal the portents of a great world-crisis on which hangs the future fortunes of Humanity.

### First Thesis.

*The antagonism that now exists between the national literature and culture on the one hand, and religion and piety on the other, must be removed, and no less necessary is the reconciliation of the present opposition between Science and Religion, Free Enquiry and Theology, the liberties of the Civil and those of the Ecclesiastical Community.*

The whole life of modern Europe has been dwarfed and darkened by the severance and mutual hostility of these elements. And yet there is no true science or art conceivable without a religious consciousness, nor can the latter advance or exert a creative agency without the former. The antagonisms we have enumerated, taken in their widest and most collective sense, may be called the contrasts presented by Romanic and Teutonic culture, and the end to be desired is so to comprehend and reinforce both tendencies that they shall mutually supplement each other. Still the distinctive characteristic will for ever reveal itself, that the one portion of civilized Europe will chiefly direct its efforts to the working out of the one tendency, and the other portion to the working out of its opposite. But in the perfected culture of the individual this difference will in effect present itself as nothing more than a difference in the starting-point. Thus for instance, since the great Schism, the religion of the Teutons has been destitute of art, while that of the Romans, on the contrary, has incessantly striven after ornamentation. But with a widening of their respective cultures, Teutonic art no less than its national literature becomes religious, while the art and literature of the Romanic peoples, on the contrary, struggle for an enfranchisement to secular ends. All these antagonisms have disappeared or are

in the process of disappearing; and when that is accomplished, a harmonious, truly humane life may shape itself out, in which there shall be an interfusion of classes and of nationalities. But on the other hand, it is still possible that everything may sink into inextricable confusion.

## SECOND THESIS.

*The revolutionary intrigues of the Socialists cannot be successfully counteracted save by the true Social Sentiment, with the regeneration of social conditions to which that gives birth.*

In this sphere, too, the way of escape is nowhere to be found but in a deepening and expanding, taking place from within outwards, of the religious consciousness, with its concomitant realization.

No one will dispute that the great political revolution in Romanic Europe, begun seventy years ago, bore within it fearful socialistic germs, and that these have been developing themselves more and more, not only there, but in the bosom of many Teutonic nations. This is Death stealing onward, and it will do so everywhere save where men discern in this phenomenon the warning finger-point of the eternal order of the world, and profit by it to set to work after a more thorough fashion upon the amelioration of political and social circumstances. The evil is no longer a local malady in the political organism, but a general one. But where the internal health is sound, sickness is accompanied, and may be conquered, by the healthy energy of an ever self-renewing vitality. And in effect, have not those very socialistic disturbances evoked a new outburst of moral and religious energy? And this not alone among the higher classes who are threatened by them, but also in the souls of many who have been captivated by their doctrines? But nothing except the Gospel has power to work this miracle in the masses.

## Third Thesis.

*The belief that the end of the world is at hand is to be regarded as a growing sense that we are now living in the epoch of a World-Crisis, and of an impending social, political, and religious Catastrophe in Europe.*

The two forms which the presentiment of a dreadful, yet in some quarters inevitable, overturn of European society takes, are the anticipation of a speedy approach of the Millennium, which is to be the restitution of all things, and that of an unconditional upsetting of all things; whether this convulsion is conceived to be the end of the world, the annihilation of the human race, or only as the overthrow of all existing relations. Of these two conceptions, the former chiliastic theory, or expectation of a Millennium, is evidently the one which answers to the demands of the human spirit—nay, when rightly, therefore spiritually, conceived, must be termed that of the Evangelists and Apostles. According to the Gospels, the apostolic Epistles and the Revelation of St. John, the design and the ultimate effect of the second coming of Christ to judgment is to be the founding of a universal kingdom of God. But if this second coming of Christ is to be the sign of conflict and judgment (and this is clearly asserted in the Gospels), and therefore of the overthrow of those existing institutions in Church or State which are contrary to God, has not Christ already returned? Are we not even now living in His presence as the Judge who was to come? On the testimony of the Gospel and the world's history, without a doubt it is so. Which deceive themselves the most, the Jews who are still waiting for their Messiah, or the Christians—princes as much as people—who fail to discern that the Messiah in whom they believe, the Spirit of Judgment of the Father and the Son, has verily returned to sit in judgment on this unthankful and rebellious world, and for the consolation of those who look for salvation alone

from Him? We believe that the prophecies of the Apocalypse include a vast future yet to come, but we do not need to believe this in order to find a justification for this thesis.

### FOURTH THESIS.

*The great Catastrophe now impending will, like all preceding catastrophes, be a Day of Judgment for the World, but will be followed by a greater and more glorious unfolding of the Kingdom of God.*

This has hitherto been the case in every great world-crisis, and the divine work thus forwarded has still in every branch a problem of further development before it, stretching beyond the utmost scope of our vision. In the first place, the diffusion of the Christian belief has as yet taken place only within a comparatively narrow circle (if we do not take into account the jugglery by which children and nations are supposed to be converted by the sprinkling of water upon them). In the second place, because so soon as we look into practical realities, we see that this belief has not as yet penetrated beyond the outer rind of secular life. The theoretic religious consciousness has still to solve the most difficult problems of science; the practical, those of social life. Lastly, even the faith of individuals in Christ is with most, as yet, very far from pure or spiritual. A belief upon authority, and a clinging to externals, do not constitute the faith that Christ demands. Either Christianity is a lie, and the history of religious consciousness the recital of a dream, or a time will come when every religiously disposed person, woman equally with man, will be "taught of God" Himself—that is to say, will recognize the truths of Christianity on the evidence of direct personal experience, and this alone will be called religion. Not till this takes place, is it possible for religion to interpenetrate our social conditions.

Equally certain is it that a time will come, when an absolute government in the State will be held on religious and moral grounds to be a *régime* no less monstrous than a system of slavery, and it will be acknowledged by both parties that absolute sway, like slavery, is an even greater misfortune for those who exercise, than for those who are subject to it. Under such a system, the latter may equally be conducted by it to faith or driven to despair, but with the rulers themselves it can lead to nothing but evil, falsehood, madness.

Lastly, if a divine order of the world subsists, and is reflected in the consciousness of Jesus, there must also further come a time when the levying of war will be regarded as a relic of barbarism, no less unreasonable than immoral, and consequently any incitement thereto will be held a common crime committed against all.

What rational man can believe that our statesmen are on their way towards such a consummation, though many assert this, and some enthusiastic spirits believe it? Why, up to the present time, not one government has seriously endeavoured even to take the first honest step towards such a state of things, by forming a Peace League between all moral and pious nations and upright governments, combined with a tribunal for arbitration, whose assessors would constitute the Amphictyons of modern Humanity! But the very fact that such a project has been mooted, and that the idea has been employed as a means of diplomatic deception, and of making political capital, proves that it has acquired an empire over men's minds. What fools and knaves they are who believe that by such arts they can stave off the coming day of retribution!

### FIFTH THESIS.

*The Restitution of all things, therefore the Victory of Good upon this Earth, is the Final Goal of all History. The Spirit is immortal under the embodiment of Moral Personality, and its Progress is infinite; for it is in its origin one with the eternal conscious Thought of the Universe, and is designed to realize that Thought upon the Earth through Boundless Time.*

Simply from the standing-point of historical research, this last inference can only be proved conditionally; that is, only if that be granted which is not susceptible of historical, but only of speculative demonstration. The *Reason* has proved, and can at any time prove in new formulas, that we are able to apply inferences from the Finite to the Infinite, in so far as what is distinctive to each is not in question, but only that which must be treated as the infinite, because eternal, element in the Finite. But further, the *Conscience* also takes that assumption for a postulate. What we call "conscience" is that which is treated of by Kant under the title of the "Practical Reason."

This last thesis brings us to the extreme limit of the field assigned to our enquiries; the line where the historical passes over into poetry or speculation,—the argument from analogy and induction into the demonstration by pure thought. Meanwhile, we are surely justified in assuming that in that thesis the consciousness of God implanted in man speaks with infallible truth. As philosophers, we require for this assumption nothing beyond the same confidence in Reason in virtue of which mankind believe in their own existence and their apprehension of visible realities. Now the reflective student of history finds his faith in this divine instinct mightily confirmed by the experience that the noblest races of mankind have in all ages held fast to this belief; and, moreover, have done so in proportion as they have been enlightened, vir-

tuous, and happy. Lastly, the Christian finds this belief present in the inmost recesses of the religious consciousness of that unique Personality, Who is not alone the author, but also the object, of our deepest religious consciousness.

Now if the development of the human spirit must be regarded as an unfolding of the Eternal and Infinite in Time, it must be assumed to be not only a progressive unfolding, but also, according to the measure of human things, an infinite progress. That is to say, a progress whose end is not definable by any human admeasurement of Time.

What, then, can this development be other than an ever-increasing oneness of knowledge and morality, an ever closer interpenetration of the True and the Good, and therefore of the most perfect Beauty? For are not the two, Being and Knowledge, the True and the Good, one in God? Nay, they are one also in Humanity, albeit with the imperfections attached to man. A correct observation of history shows them to us going hand in hand, although under the form of a servant, and veiled from ordinary eyes in the beggarly raiment of human imperfection, save where they make their presence irresistibly manifest before the world, through their effects. Those who teach that this union is the true wisdom, are the true disciples of philosophy. But those who, by their lives and actions, attest this true wisdom—women equally with men—are the true disciples of the Christ who is about to descend in the Spirit to judge the world, and such will judge the world with Him.

Wherefore, O thou torn Humanity, thou down-trodden people of God, be of good courage, and rejoice in God as thou marchest through the ages! Thou shalt yet be a nobler glorification of the Eternal, than are all the suns and stars; for from thee—and so far as our ken reaches—from thee alone, radiates that conscious Spirit for which all nature groans; and, in thee alone does that Divine

Love reveal itself which has conceived the thought of creation, and plunged itself down into this actual life! And ye, O believing generations of the imminent or more distant future, do not fear or tremble if the day of judgment should burst in upon this old Europe. What is overthrown, will fall struck by the vengeful lightnings of heaven; and what is shattered into ruins, will but make place for the new life, which during the lapse of centuries has been silently germinating below the soil unobserved, and therefore undisturbed. But thou, O solitary Spirit, who art travelling with us through the waste wilderness of the present, live the Eternal life in Time, delight thine eye with the contemplation of a glorious, happier age, and contemplate thyself and thine age in the vast world-mirror of Humanity, of the Bible, and of the inexhaustible treasures of God's word contained therein. Then wilt thou fully understand that proverb of the wise and pious man which we have once before held up to thee:—

"He to whom Time is as Eternity, and Eternity as Time, He is freed from all strife!"

# APPENDIX.

## NOTE A. (p. 139).

### THE AUTHENTIC WORDS OF JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA RESPECTING THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD IN THE SACRAMENT.

Höfler in his "*Deutsche Päpste*," bd. ii. s. 80 fg., has been the first to give this text, and has done so on the authority of a communication received from Professor Greith of St. Gall. The corrected text is to be found in Floss's complete edition of Erigena's "*Commentary on the Heavenly Hierarchy of Dionysius Areopagita*," and runs as follows: On the words of Dionysius:—

"Et Jesu participationis ipsam divinissimæ eucharistiæ assumptionem . . . ." [1]

Intuere quam pulchre, quam expresse asserit, visibilem hanc eucharistiam, quam quotidie sacerdotes Ecclesiæ in altare conficiunt ex sensibili materia panis et vini, quamque confectam et sanctificatam corporaliter accipiunt, typicam esse similitudinem spiritualis participationis Jesu, *quem fideliter solo intellectu gustamus*, hoc est, *intelligimus*, inque nostræ naturæ interiora viscera sumimus, ad nostram salutem, et spirituale incrementum, et ineffabilem deificationem. Oportet ergo, inquit, humanum animum, ex sensibilibus rebus in cælestium virtutum similitudinem et æqualitatem ascendentem arbitrari, divinissimam eucharistiam visibilem, in Ecclesia conformatam, maxime typum esse participationis ipsius, qua et nunc participamus Jesum per fidem, et in futuro participabimus per speciem, eique adunabimur per caritatem.

[1] In order to understand these disconnected words, compare with them the whole extract, which is to be found in the works of Hugo de St. Victor (*Opp.* ed. Mogunt. 1617), p. 343.

Quid ergo ad hanc magni theologi Dionysii præclarissimam tubam respondent, qui visibilem eucharistiam nil aliud significare præter se ipsam volunt asserere, dum clarissime præfata tuba clamat, non illa sacramenta visibilia colenda, neque pro veritate amplexanda, quia significatio veritatis sunt, neque propter se ipsa inventa, quoniam in ipsis intelligentiæ finis non est, sed propter incomprehensibilem veritatis virtutem, qua Christus est in unitate humanæ divinæque suæ substantiæ ultra omne, quod sensu sensitur corporeo, super omne quod virtute percipitur intelligentiæ, Deus invisibilis, in utraque sua natura.

## Note B (p. 143).

### BERENGARIUS AND LESSING.

The chief passage is to be found in Giseler, ii. § 29, cf. Milman, "*Latin Christianity*," vol. iii. pp. 23–26, 51 *et seq.* Dr. Weill, in the number just published of his "*Anfänge der Wiederherstellung der Kirche im 11ten Jahrhundert*," appears to wish to disembarrass himself of Lessing's criticisms by asserting that they are now quite exploded. But that is not the view of the modern critics who have hitherto written on this subject. The statements of Berengarius with regard to matters which came under his personal knowledge, and with respect to which he appeals to public sources of information, are not to be set aside because Lanfranc asserts the precise contrary. Nevertheless, in reading the records of the transactions, we cannot refrain from exclaiming with Lessing, "Holy Lanfranc! do *not* pray for us!"

## Note C (p. 159).

### THE TRINITY AND THE HOLY VIRGIN. FOUR ROMISH PRAYERS OF THE YEAR 1822.

*Orazione da recitarsi da chi desidera acquistarsi la protezione della SSMA. VERGINE di ottenere qualche grazia purchè sia espediente per l'eterna salute.* In Roma: 1825. Pel Bourliè. Con Licenza de' Superiori.

Io vi adoro, Eterno Padre, con tutta la Corte celestiale per mio Dio, e Signore, ed infinitamente vi ringrazio da parte della beata Vergine, vostra dilettissima Figlia, d' ogni grazia e favore, specialmente di quella potenza, della quale la sublimaste assunta in Cielo.

Io vi adoro, Eterno Figlio, con tutta la Corte celestiale per mio Dio, Signore, e Redentore, ed infinitamente vi ringrazio da parte della Beatissima Vergine vostra dilettissima Madre, d' ogni grazia e favore, specialmente di quella somma sapienza, di che l' illustraste assunta in Cielo.

Io vi adoro, Santissimo Spirito, Paracleto, per mio Dio, e Signore, ed infinitamente vi ringrazio con tutta la Corte celestiale a nome della Beatissima Vergine, vostra amatissima Sposa, d' ogni grazia e favore, specialmente di quella perfettissima e divina carità, colla quale accendeste il suo santissimo e purissimo cuore nell' atto della sua gloriosissima Assunzione in Cielo, ed umilmente vi supplico, a nome della vostra stimatissima Sposa, a farmi grazia della remissione de' miei gravissimi peccati, dal primo istante che potei peccare, fino a quest' ora presente, dolendemene infinitamente, con proponimento di ricevère più tosto la morte, che mai più offendere la vostra Divina Maestà: e per gli altissimi meriti, ed efficacissima protezione della vostra amatissima Sposa, vi supplico a concedere a me, ed a N., il preziosissimo dono della grazia vostra, e divino amore, col concedermi que' lumi, e particolari ajuti, per li quali l' eterna Providenza vostra ha predeterminato di volermi salvare, e a se condurre.

*Alla Beatissima Vergine.*

Io vi adoro, Vergine Santissima, Regina de' Cieli, Signora, e Padrona dell' universo, come Figlia dell' Eterno Padre, Madre del suo dilettissimo Figliuolo, e Sposa graziosissima dello Spirito Santo; e prostrato a' piedi della vostra gran Maestà, con ogni maggiore umiltà vi supplico per quella divina carità, della quale foste sommamente accumulata assunta in Cielo, a farmi tanta grazia e misericordia di ricevermi sotto la vostra sicurissima e fedelissima protezione, ricevermi nel numero di quei felicissimi ed avventurati servi, che portato scolpiti nel vostro verginal petto. Degnatevi, Madre e Signora mia clementissima, di ricevere questo misero ed impuro cuore: pigliate la memoria, la volontà, e tutte le altre potenze, e sensi interni, ed esterni; accettate gli occhj, le orecchie, la bocca, le mani, e i piedi, reggeteli conforme al beneplacito del vostro Figliuolo, intendendo ad ogni movimento di essi di darvi gloria infinita. E per quella sapienza, di che v' illustrò il vostro dilettissimo Figliuolo, vi prego e supplico ad ottenermi lume e chiarezza per conoscere bene me stesso, i miei peccati, il mio niente, e singolarmente l'origine di essi, che sono gli affetti dell' anima, e le concupiscenze della carne, per poterle odiare e scacciare da me, e, di più, lume per conoscere le insidie del nemico infernale, e i suoi abbattimenti occulti e manifesti. Specialmente, pietissima Madre, vi supplico della grazia N.

## NOTE D (p. 168).

### THE ELEGY ON ROME WRITTEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY A PRODUCTION OF ERIGENA.

The genuine text, given for the first time by Floss from the MS. of the work of Scotus Erigena entitled, "*De divisione Naturæ*," runs thus:—[1]

Nobilibus quondam fueras constructa patronis,
Subdita nunc servis heu! male, Roma, ruis.
Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges,
Cessit et ad Græcos nomen honosque tuus.
Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur,
Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis.
Transiit imperium, mansitque superbia tecum,
Cultus avaritiæ te nimium superat.
Vulgus ab extremis distractus partibus orbis,
Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini.
In te nobilium, rectorum nemo remansit,
Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt.
Truncasti vivos crudeli vulnere sanctos,
Vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles.
Jam ni te meritum Petri Paulique foveret,
Tempore jam longo, Roma misella, fores.

Floss thinks that the "servorum servi" indisputably refers to the Saracens. But they were never masters of Rome; and just shortly before the composition of that book, Leo IV. had defeated them in the decisive battle near Ostia (846 A.D.) and fortified the Borgo (Civitas Leonina). Thus we can but refer them to the monks who had streamed thither out of all quarters of the globe, and were at that time extremely numerous in Rome. The poet calls them "servorum servi" because the Popes themselves were in a very dependent position.

[1] Floss, s. xxiii. Cf. "*Beschreibung Roms*," von Bunsen und Platner, vol. i. p. 242 fg.

## Note E (p. 179).

## THE THREE SONNETS OF PETRARCH.

### A. Sonetto CV.

Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova,
Malvagia; che dal fiume e dalle ghiande
Per l' altru' impoverir se' ricca e grande;
Poi che di mal oprar tanto ti giova:

Nido di tradimenti; in cui si cova
Quanto mal per lo mondo oggi si spande;
Di vin serva, di letti e di vivande,
In cui lussuria fa l' ultima prova.

Per le camere tue fanciulle e vecchi
Vanno trescando, e Belzebub in mezzo,
Co' mantici, e col foco, e con gli specchi.

Già non fostu nudrita in piume al rezzo,
Ma nuda al vento, e scalza fra li stecchi;
Or vivi sì, ch' a Dio ne venga il lezzo.

### B. Sonetto CVI.

L' avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco
D' ira di Dio, e di vizii empi e rei,
Tanto che scoppia; ed ha fatti suoi Dei,
Non Giove e Palla, ma Venere e Bacco.

Aspettando ragion mi struggo e fiacco:
Ma pur novo Soldan veggio per lei,
Lo qual farà, non già quand' io vorrei,
Sol una sede; e quella fia in Baldacco.

Gl' idoli suoi saranno in terra sparsi,
E le torri superbe, al Ciel nemiche;
E suoi torrier di for, come dentr' arsi.

Anime belle e di virtute amiche
Terranno 'l mondo; e poi vedrem lui farsi
Aureo tutto, e pien dell' opre antiche.

C. Sonetto CVII.

Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresia;
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira:

O fucina d' inganni, o prigion dira,
Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre e cria;
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia
Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.

Fondata in casta ed umil povertate,
Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
Putta sfacciata: e dov' hai posto spene?

Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
Richezze tante? or Constantin non torna;
Ma tolga il mondo tristo che 'l sostene.

In the very excellent translation of Kekulé and Vigeleben these three sonnets are omitted, although they incontestably form part of the whole collection, and are also found in the Italian edition, including the Roman one of De Romanis.

THE END.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

00110803

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 19 September, 2016